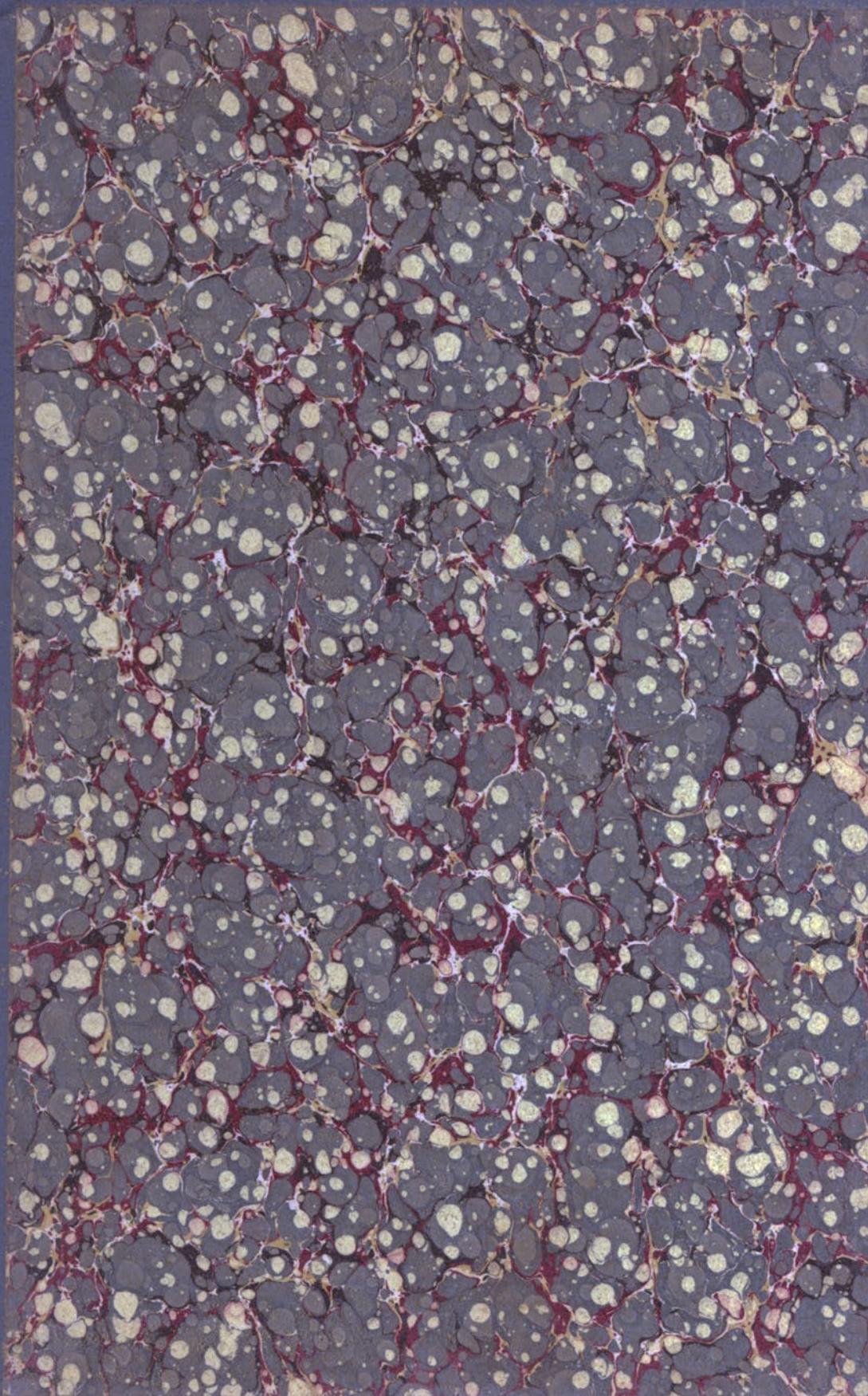
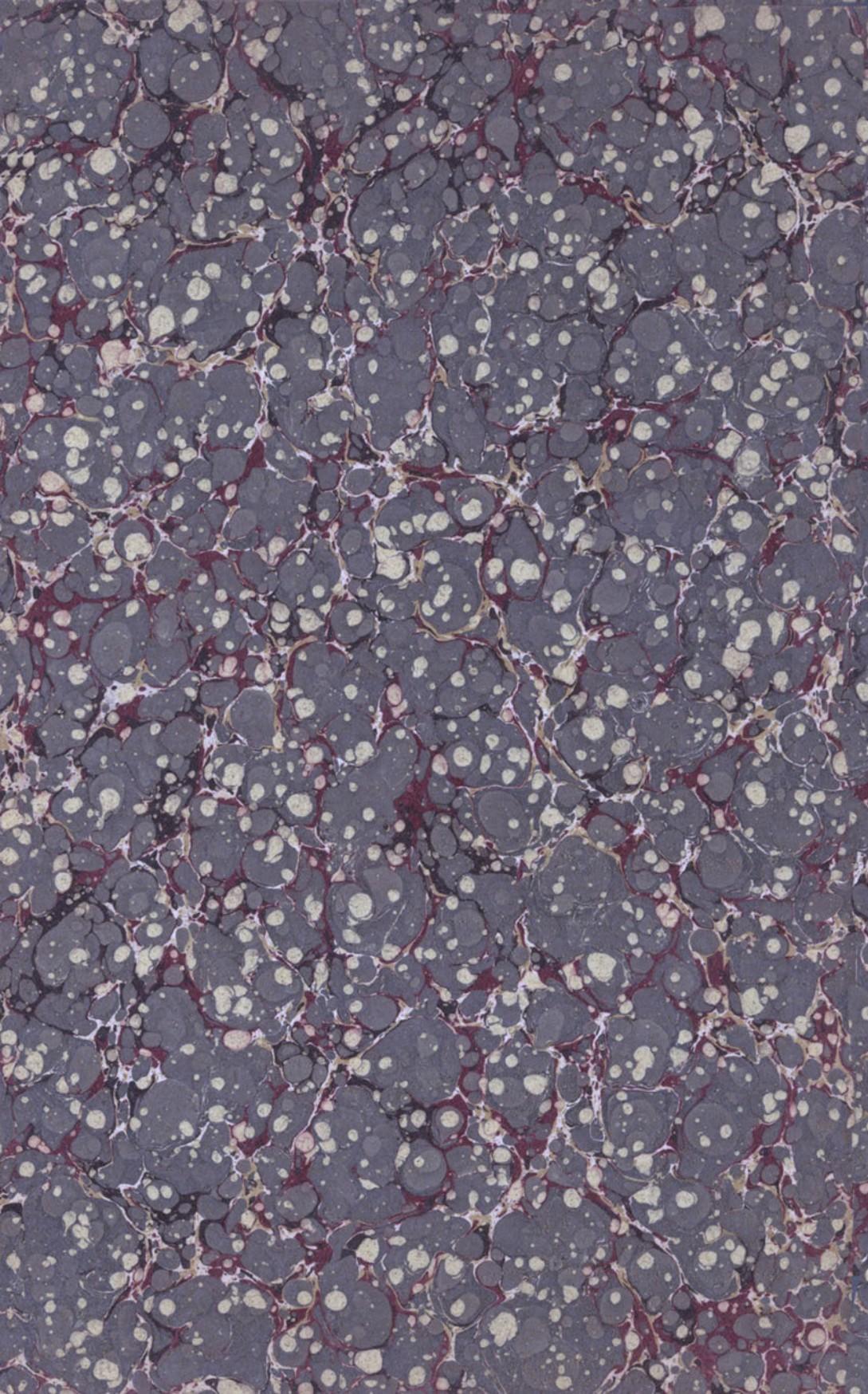


In Memoriam





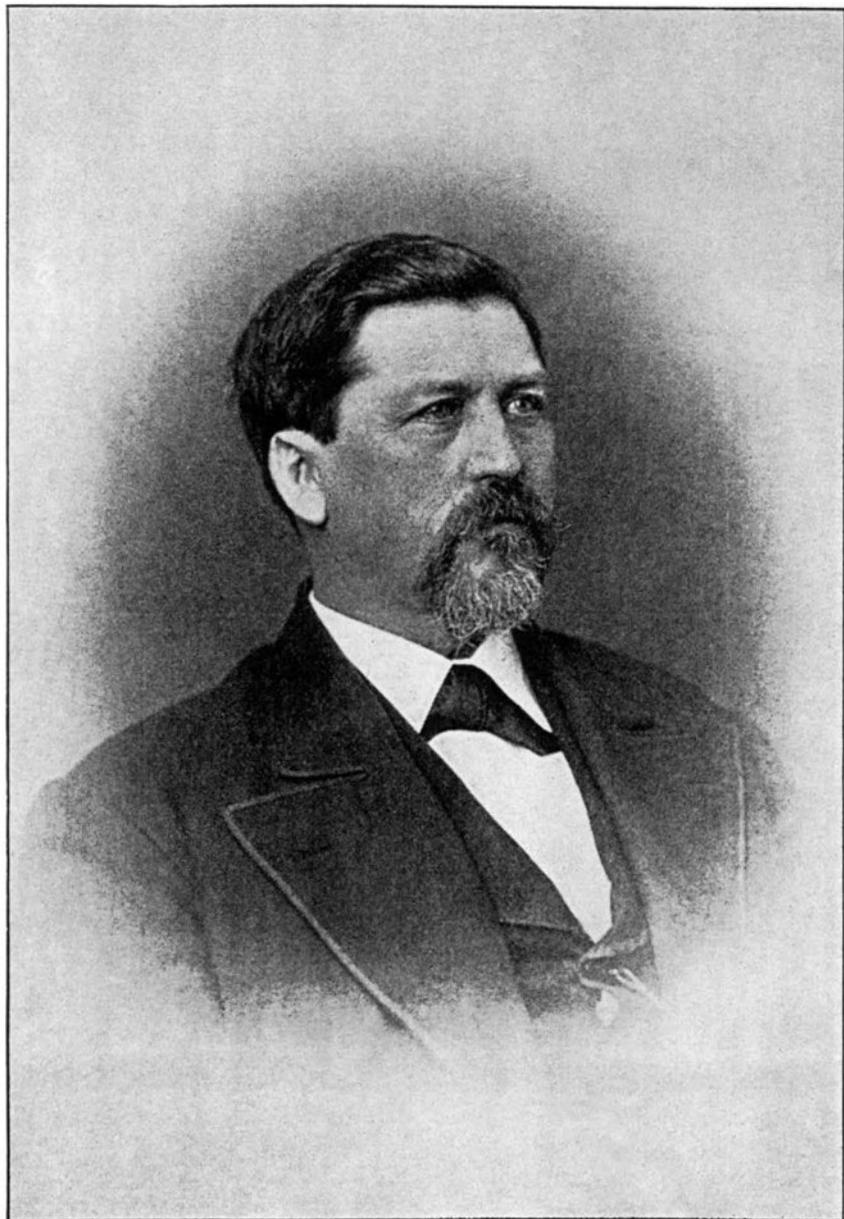


To my grand children

Your grandfather Samuel N Wood
died in June 1891.

This book will be interesting to
you.

Maryard L Wood



S. W. Wood

MEMORIAL
OF
SAMUEL N. WOOD

BY
MARGARET L. WOOD,

TO WHICH IS APPENDED

“Wood’s Manifesto,”

HIS LAST POLITICAL ADDRESS
IN KANSAS.

“We know he was the friend of Kansas.”—*Hon. F. Doster.*

“He who falls for Labor enters a grave already illuminated
by the dawn.”—*Victor Hugo.*

KANSAS CITY :
HUDSON-KIMBERLY PUBLISHING COMPANY.
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By MARGARET L. WOOD,

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE.....	8
CHAPTER I.	
Prefatory—Era of Agitation—King Cotton—The Missouri Compromise of 1820—Ancestors of Samuel N. Wood—Hereditiy; Early Training—The Liberty Party—Chairman of a Political Organization at Nineteen—The Early Abolitionists—The Great Revolutionary Year—Compromises of 1850—National Platforms of 1852—The Free Democracy—The “Trojan Horse”—Exit Whigs.....	9
CHAPTER II.	
Mr. Wood’s Removal to Kansas—Incidents of the Journey—One of the “Twelve Apostles”—Report of Freedom’s Advance Guard—“Squatter” Associations—Hostility to “Northern Fanatics and Abolitionists”—A Gulf State Blast for Slavery—First Death in Lawrence.....	23
CHAPTER III.	
Mr. Wood’s “Historical” Address—Early Training—First Personal Encounter—In the Enemy’s Camp—Scare about Eli Thayer—D. R. Anthony, S. F. Tappan, and Others—First Victory—Reception to Gov. Reeder—Mr. Wood in Westport—First Kansas Election—Horace Greeley Sounds an Alarm—Repudiation—Fourth of July, 1855—A Mad Enactment—Struggling in the Toils	32
CHAPTER IV.	
Blue Lodges—Murder of Dow—Rescue of Branson—The “Militia”—The Black Flag—Siege of Lawrence—Ladies of Lawrence—Murder of Barber—A Fight Averted—Retreat of the Enemy...	45
CHAPTER V.	
A Long Trip to Mail Letters—“Richard Smith”—Almost Recognized—S. N. Wood One of the Organizers of the Republican Party—Emigrants for Kansas—The “Polar Star” Boarded by the Enemy—Vanquished by Talk—Home Again—Attempted Arrest by “Sheriff” Jones—John Speer as a Peace Officer—Shooting of “Sheriff” Jones—Free State Men and U.S. Forces—Congressional Investigation—Free State Men Hunted like Wolves—“Border Ruffian” and His Master—Narrow Escapes—Hunted from the Territory—Exhausted and Sick—Mrs. Wood’s Long Ride—In Ohio Again	55

CHAPTER VI.

New Tactics of "Law and Order" Men—Warned by Jas. F. Legate—Indicted for Treason—Wood and Reeder in Ohio—Mrs. Wood's Letter—National Republican Convention of 1856—Mr. Wood's Earnest Work in the Presidential Campaign—Four More Long Years—Free State Strategy—The Hated Lecompton Constitution—Victory at Last—The English Bill—Buchanan Stoops to Conquer, but Fails—Retaliation—Getting Even—Closing Words of Mr. Wood's "Historical" Address	67
--	----

CHAPTER VII.

Constitutional Conventions—Newspaper Work—Resolutions in the Territorial House, 1860—"House Bill No. 6"—Last Territorial Legislature—First State Senate—Mr. Wood Appointed Collector of Customs at Paso del Norte—Resigns and Enlists in the Army—Dr. Patee and Capt. Wood—at Wilson's Creek—Scouting—Captures a Slave-Trader—"Col. Wood's Negroes"—Outside of the Lines—A Vigilant Officer's Report—Missionary Work—Not a "Professor"—Shooting at a Brother—The Advance to Helena—S. N. Wood in War and in Peace	80
---	----

CHAPTER VIII.

A Broken Leg—His Own Surgeon—Jim Gray, of Trinidad—Running the Gauntlet for Home—Phrenological Delineation by Prof. O. S. Fowler—"A Splendid Life"—A Senate Committee <i>vs.</i> a Corporation	94
--	----

CHAPTER IX.

The Woman Suffrage Campaign of 1867—S. N. Wood's Relation to Kansas Politics—Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1877—Newspaper Work—Greenback Party—At the Quarter-Centennial—"El Dearie"—Address at the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of Kansas as a State.....	107
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

Murderers—A Prisoner in No Man's Land—A Suit in the Supreme Court—Cowardly Assault by A. W. Smith—Murder of Sheriff Cross and His Posse—C. E. Cook <i>et al.</i> —Attorney-General Miller and His Emissary—Col. Wood's Letter to Attorney-General Miller—Kansas State Officers and Criminals—Judge Botkin—A Mistake—A Dark Record—J. W. Calvert.....	124
--	-----

CHAPTER XI.

Alliance House of 1891—Clerk of Judiciary Committee—Attempted Arrest of Col. Wood—Protection by Shawnee County District Court—The First Premonition of Death—Hackney's Brutal Assault—The Result—Farming—Deceit Practiced by the Murderers—An Unusual Law Practice—A Stranger—Heaven's Sweet Surprises—Coming Events Foreshadowed—Last Home-ward Ride—"Why?".....	149
---	-----

CHAPTER XII.

- A Mirage—"To Friends Above from Fiends Below"—A Sampson Slain—Homeward—Deputy U. S. Marshal Ed Short—Funeral Services—"Thou Art Free from Time and Space" 165

CHAPTER XIII.

- Gethsemane—Sympathy—Kind Words from Lodges, Orders, and Conventions..... 180

CHAPTER XIV.

- Letters of Condolence from Friends..... 197

CHAPTER XV.

- Comments of the Press—Education and Habits—Letter from Stevens County—A Travesty of Justice—Discharge of Assassin.... 214

APPENDIX.

- Wood's Manifesto—Last Political Address in Kansas—Good-Night —Abraham Lincoln's Warning.....

PREFACE.

His enemies have told you his "faults"; let me tell you the true story of his life. But the attempt to do this leads backward through years of peace and sunshine that have passed forever; years that were "blest beyond all blessing," and musical with voices now silent and the sound of footsteps whose coming will gladden no more life's lonely days. It involves, too, a review of the crime that blotted out home and comfort and joy, and exiled me in a strangely desolate land. Would that the poppy-leaves of forgetfulness might bury the past, and the thorns in life's pathway change to the Easter lilies of a brighter clime. And yet it is all I can do now for my husband, and although the effort costs me unutterable pain, it shall be done—this last work I can ever do for him.

It is in no spirit of bitterness or revenge that I allude to the men who plotted and accomplished his death. Vengeance is not for me or mine. I envy them not. I am happier even in my sorrow, hoping for reunion and a home with him where no murderers can separate us, than they—fear-haunted and with a consciousness of guilt which ever invites the descent of the keen blade of retributive justice. Only a desire to give the truth to the world has led me to name some of them. Some time the whole story can be told. It is not proper or prudent to reveal more at this time.

To that correct historian, J. C. Hebbard, belongs the credit of the synopsis of great events with which the life of Samuel N. Wood was so intimately blended—the early anti-slavery movement, the bold aggressions of the slave power, and the memorable contest in Kansas. These events determined his course and are a part of his life's history. But a complete record of that brave and busy life cannot be given in the small compass of these pages. His whole life was a miracle of tireless energy and continuous work, but not for himself; he was ever sowing for others to reap. He was one of the heroic band who threw their lives between the infant State of Kansas and the demon of human slavery and successfully fought off the monster, notwithstanding it was supported by the whole power of the Federal Government. Then they founded the State,—

"Deep they laid the strong foundations,"—

and while the State of Kansas endures, the work of the busy hands and clear, tireless brain of Samuel N. Wood will gleam with undying persistence on the pages of its earliest and noblest history.

M. L. W.

MEMORIAL OF S. N. WOOD.

CHAPTER I.

Prefatory.—An Era of Agitation.—Ancestors; Childhood, Youth, and Early Training of Samuel N. Wood.

An active, brave, conscientious, discreet, earnest, faithful, and glorious person, in his career from the cradle to the grave, furnishes in the events of his life object lessons of greater or less significance to the earth's inhabitants, no matter whether the accumulated incidents of that earth-life, to the superficial observer, savor more of success or defeat, of failure or triumph, of light or of darkness. An individual human life is necessarily made up of lights and shades, of joy and sorrow, of prosperity and adversity, and the more plentiful the victories that have been achieved in the contests that have been waged against error, misdirections, wickedness, and wrong; achieved in the interest of truth, righteousness, justice and equity, the more have the actors become conquerors through that spirit of self-abnegation that enabled them to endure the cross, and despise the shame, having been fully persuaded that neither death nor life, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, could be elements to successfully militate against the progress that a true soul could make in fighting earnestly the great battle of life.

“There is no light without companion shade,
There are no griefs that do not herald joys;
In Nature's balance all is fairly weighed,
And everything must have its equipoise.
Life hath two sides: its profit and its loss.
Even the moon hath two: the dark and luminous.”

The defeats of to-day are oftentimes the precursors of the victories of to-morrow, and the bread that is now cast upon the waters may be gathered in future days, for the assurance is a reasonable one:

“For they shall reap, who sow in tears,
Rich gladness through the eternal years.”

If the boy be father to the man, and if every true life be a plan of the Infinite Mind, then the imperfected work and the unfulfilled purpose of many an earnest soul, during its earth-life, may have fruition in better spheres of existence, where higher aspirations and more exalted actions are numbered among the possibilities, if not among the actualities, of the glorious summer-land.

The foregoing thoughts are presented as a sort of prelude to the record of some incidents that occurred during the earth-life of one of the most historic characters that ever dwelt in Kansas. He stood related to severe conflicts in the early Territorial days of Kansas; he went out of the body by the murderous hand of an assassin whose act was a collective rather than an individual one.

Samuel N. Wood was born near Mount Gilead, Ohio, December 30, 1825; the year that John Quincy Adams, a National Republican, was elected the sixth President of the United States. His earth-life, extending through a period of about 66½ years, embraced a condition of things that savored of agitation and of moral and political conflict, and which brought forth results that will always prove interesting to the dispassionate student of events who recognizes the influence of unseen powers and of invisible agencies in the affairs of nations as well as of individuals.

Cotton became king in American politics, and Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin served to most wonderfully dull the sense of moral responsibility which had had recognition by American slave-holders at the dawning of our Federal Republic, and which had become most fearfully dimmed in the thoughts and acts of the slavery propaganda, who had reached a determination to control state and national legislation bearing upon the patriarchal institutions.

Antedating the birth of S. N. Wood a few years was the national agitation growing out of the matter of Missouri Territory asking admission into the American Union as the twenty-fourth State. Ex-President Thomas Jefferson, while this measure was pending in Congress, wrote to a member of the House of Representatives that "the Missouri question is the most portentous one which has ever threatened the Union. In the

gloomiest hour of the Revolutionary War I never had any apprehensions equal to those which I feel from this source."

And yet Mr. Blaine, in his first volume of the "Twenty Years of Congress," declares:

"With the settlement of the Missouri question, the anti-slavery agitation subsided as rapidly as it had arisen. This was a second surprise to thinking men. The result can, however, be readily explained. The Northern States felt that they had absolutely secured to freedom a large territory west and north of Missouri. The Southern States believed that they had an honorable and implied understanding, outside and beyond the explicit letter of the law, that new States south of the Missouri line could be admitted with slavery if they desired. The great political parties then dividing the country accepted the result, and for the next twenty years no agitation of the slavery question appeared in any political convention, or affected any considerable body of the people."

"A truly great man borrows no splendor from ancestry." The foregoing proverb possessing inherent truth should not in any sense be so construed as to belittle the statement that "blood will tell." The ancestry of Mr. Wood was indeed a glorious one. His parents, David and Esther Mosher Wood, had with their parents emigrated from their eastern homes as early as 1817. The Woods and Moshers were of the Society of Friends, and hence were the uncompromising foes of oppression everywhere. Never did they hesitate to plead for the millions of Afric-Americans who were in bondage to "the superior race" in so many of the States of the American Union, which system of slavery was so strongly fortified by the church and state power in the American nation.

By a law of heredity and by careful and conscientious training Samuel N. Wood from early boyhood was an abolitionist, and most willingly obeyed the apostolic injunction, "Remember those in bonds as bound with them," and from childhood sincerely felt that "we ought to obey God rather than man." He came into being at a time when strong impressions as to the true relations of citizens to their government were considered, and hence, as a youth he was an earnest student of American politics.

In 1828 and in 1832 the political sentiment of Ohio and of New York was strong for Andrew Jackson for President; but in 1836 Ohio gave William Henry Harrison, a son of hers,

though a native of Virginia and an early settler of Indiana, a majority of 8,457, while New York gave Martin Van Buren a majority of 28,272.

In 1832 there had been an anti-Masonic element in politics, and Vermont gave her seven electoral votes to William Wirtz, of Maryland, for President. In 1840 there was a political revolution that swept out President Van Buren and brought a national victory to Harrison and Tyler.

But on November 13, 1839, a body of abolitionists met at Warsaw, New York, and organized the Liberty party in politics, with James G. Birney, of Michigan, for President, and Francis J. Lemoyne, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President; and this ticket received votes in twelve States in 1840, which aggregated 7,059. This Birney ticket was credited with 2,798 votes in New York, 1,621 in Massachusetts, and 903 in Ohio; and David Wood, the father of S. N. Wood, was one of its supporters.

In 1844 the Whigs made Henry Clay, a Kentucky slave-holder, their candidate for President, and the Democrats selected a slave-holder from Tennessee, James K. Polk, for the same office.

The Liberty party renominated Mr. Birney for President, and Thomas Morris, a former Democratic United States senator from Ohio, was nominated for Vice-President. This ticket polled 62,300 votes in thirteen States; having 15,812 in New York, 10,860 in Massachusetts, and 8,050 in Ohio. Mr. Clay was in a minority of 13,990 in Ohio, and of 20,918 in New York.

Though such a lover of liberty as Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, supported the Clay and Frelinghuysen ticket in 1844, he soon thereafter abjured all allegiance to the Whig party, and allied himself to a political movement that was opposed to slave-holding and man-stealing.

At that presidential election of 1844, S. N. Wood was nearly nineteen years of age, and had all the interest a voter could possibly have had in the political prosperity of the Liberty party in the nation. He was elected as the chairman of the central committee of his county, and this mark of confidence bestowed upon a minor was a manly tribute to his fidelity to a cause that was bereft of popular applause, and which so sternly met unmerited reproof at the hands of those

who deemed themselves the saviors of society and the guardians of the best interests of the Republic. The youthful Samuel N. Wood fought his political battles under the commands of the still small voice of conscience, which may prove to be a light to all the apostles of reform, and which may ever serve as a glorious protection to all who may make a resistance to the approved popular forms of controlling thought. This early devotion to principle had endurance with Mr. Wood throughout his eventful life.

Whatever the facts are that are set forth in the last sentence of the matter quoted heretofore from Mr. Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress," the following facts from him are worthy of attentive consideration :

" In the early days of this agitation the Abolitionists were
 " a proscribed and persecuted class ; denounced with unsparing severity by both the great political parties ; condemned by many of the leading churches ; libeled in the public press,
 " and maltreated by furious mobs. In no part of the country
 " did they constitute more than a handful of the population ;
 " but they worked against every discouragement with a zeal
 " and firmness which bespoke intensity of moral conviction.

" They were in large degree recruited from the Society of Friends, who brought to the support of the organization the same calm and consistent courage which had always distinguished them in upholding before the world their peculiar tenets of religious faith. Caring nothing for prejudice meeting opprobrium with silence, shaming the authors of violence by meek non-resistance, relying on moral agencies alone, appealing simply to reason and the conscience of men, they arrested the attention of the nation by arraigning it before the public opinion of the world, and proclaiming its responsibility to the judgment of God.

" Any less earnest body of men would have been discouraged, but the Abolition party was composed of devotees, possessing the true martyr spirit, and instead of being appalled by defeat, they were inspired with fresh zeal and incited to new effort. They had not failed to observe that while few were disposed to unite in extreme anti-slavery measures, there was a growing number whose conscience was aroused on the general subject of human bondage."

Sixty-one years ago last January William Lloyd Garrison, in the first issue of his *Liberator*, said :

" I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think or speak or

" write with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house
" is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately
" rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the
" mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into
" which it has fallen, but urge me not to use moderation
" in a cause like the present. I am in earnest; I will no
" equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retract a single
" inch, AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is
" enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and
" to hasten the resurrection of the dead."

In the contest of 1844, associated with Mr. Clay, as the candidate for President, who had boasted that his slaves "were fat and sleek," was the benevolent and religious Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, for Vice-President, who characterized the anti-slavery movement as "the very wildness of fanaticism."

In 1848 the Whigs nominated General Zachary Taylor, a Louisiana slave-holder, for President, and Millard Fillmore, a Silver Grey Whig, of New York, for Vice-President.

The Democrats nominated Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for their national ticket, both of the gentlemen being acceptable to the pro-slavery Democracy of the nation.

The Buffalo convention of August 9, 1848, presided over by Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, nominated Martin Van Buren for President, and Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy Adams, who had died the preceding February, for Vice-President; and this ticket had the support of the Liberty party men, the "Barnburner" Democrats, and the "Conscience" Whigs, all rallying under the name of the Free Soil party.

S. N. Wood was a delegate from the State of Ohio to this convention at Buffalo, and cast his first presidential vote at the election in 1848 for Van Buren and Adams, and worked with his usual industry for the success of the ticket, and he had, as a reward for his earnest, vigorous work, a return of a large vote in many Ohio counties for the Free Soil national ticket.

The Ohio Legislature of 1849 elected Salmon P. Chase to the United States Senate for a term ending March 3, 1855, and Joshua R. Giddings was able to be returned as representative from his congressional district without the aid of the Whig party.

Agitation, education, and organization were the watchwords in 1848 of the friends of freedom, both in the old and new world. This year Louis Philippe was forced to leave his throne, to which he had such strong attachments, and remove himself from Paris. Meagher, Mitchell, O'Brien, and other Irish patriots arose in behalf of Home Rule in Ireland, and Louis Kossuth labored with a fervent zeal and holy patriotism to rescue Hungary from the despotic, harsh, and rigorous rule of Austria.

Garibaldi, Mazzini, and other Italian patriots hoped for an uplifting of oppression from the soulless domination of church and state rule which invested the once-called "Eternal City," Rome, which sat on her seven hills and from her "throne of beauty" ruled the world.

In the United States of America the Free Soil party marched under the majestic trinity of liberty, equality, and fraternity, with the glorious mottoes, "Free Soil, Free Men, and Free Labor."

The Free Soil ticket received in the thirty States of the American Union 291,263 votes, of which Ohio gave 35,354, which was 9.3 per cent of its whole vote. New York gave the ticket 26.5 per cent of its vote; Massachusetts 28.3 per cent, and Vermont 28.8 per cent of its vote.

In New York the "Hunker" candidate for governor was Hon. Reuben Hyde Walworth, who declared that abolitionists were "visionary enthusiasts" and "reckless demagogues." Going back to a period of fifteen years, when an anti-slavery declaration in 1833 was made, let the following extracts from it be considered:

"We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

"We shall encourage the labor of freemen, rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions; and we shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

"Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. TRUTH, JUSTICE, REASON, HUMANITY must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

"Submitting this declaration to the candid examination of

" the people of this country and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it, pledging ourselves that under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth; to deliver our land from its deadliest curse, to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon, and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans, come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputation; whether we live to witness the triumph of LIBERTY, JUSTICE, and HUMANITY, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause."

Mr. Wood's parents were Quakers of an eminently rigid anti-slavery type; and he with them, for "conscience sake," heartily subscribed to the declaration: "We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions." To this he gave a practical adherence in his early life.

The year of 1850 was the great year of political compromises with the institution of slavery in these United States of America. Henry Clay had re-entered the United States Senate from Kentucky, to close his political life on his most exalted idea of a statesmanlike compromise that might secure "an amicable arrangement of *all* questions in controversy between the free and slave States, growing out of the subject of slavery." So in January, 1850, he submitted a series of resolutions, which recited the measures which were necessary for the pacification of all strife in the country, and which, he seemed to hope, might disperse the elements that ever and always invited a necessary and irrepressible conflict between the great forces of freedom and of slavery.

These resolutions embraced the admission of California into the Union with her constitution, which was a charter of liberty; organized governments for the territory that had come as acquisition of the Mexican war, with the matter of slavery waived thereto; to provide for a gift of \$10,000,000 to Texas and to adjust her boundary; to make provisions for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and to re-enact the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, with more certain and rigorous provisions.

Thus says Mr. Blaine in his "Twenty Years of Congress":

"Mr. Clay's resolutions were referred to a special committee of thirteen, of which he was made chairman. They reported a bill embracing the principal objects contemplated in his original speech. The discussion on this composite measure was earnest and prolonged, and between certain senators became exasperating.

"The administration, through its newspapers, through the declarations of its cabinet ministers, through the unreserved expressions of President Taylor himself, showed persistent hostility to Mr. Clay's Omnibus Bill, as it was derisively and offensively called. Mr. Clay, in turn, did not conceal his hostility to the mode of adjustment proposed in the message of the President, and defended his own with vigor and eloquence.

"Reciting the measures demanded for a fair and lasting settlement, he said there were five wounds bleeding, and threatening the body politic, all needing to be healed, while the President proposed to heal but one. He described the wounds, numbering them carefully on his fingers as he spoke.

"The strife naturally grew more and more severe, breaking the Whig party asunder, one section following Mr. Clay with great zeal, the other adhering with tenacity to the administration. The quarrel was growing fiercer day by day, and involving all shades of political opinion, when it was suddenly arrested by the death of General Taylor on July 9, 1850. This sad event gave the opportunity for the success of the compromise measures. Had General Taylor lived their defeat was assured. Long before General Taylor's death it was known that Mr. Fillmore did not sympathize with the policy of the administration. In succeeding to the Presidency, Mr. Fillmore naturally gave the full influence of his administration to the compromise."

The Democrats in their National Convention at Baltimore, June 1, 1852, thus resolved:

"That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, and not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of abolitionists, or others, to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and to endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought

" not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

" That the foregoing proposition covers and is intended " to embrace the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, " standing on its national platform, will abide by and adhere " to the faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise Measures settled by the last Congress—the act for " reclaiming fugitives from service or labor included; which " act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the " Constitution, cannot with fidelity therefore be repealed, nor " so changed as to impair its efficiency.

" That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

The Whigs, a little past the middle of June, 1852, also met at Baltimore, and President Fillmore, General Scott, and Secretary of State Webster were the presidential candidates Winfield Scott became the nominee on the 53d ballot, and the platform adopted was in obedience to the behests of the slaveholding element in the party. And here is the ending of the Whig platform :

" The Federal and State Governments are parts of our system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace, and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment. Respect for the authority of each, and acquiescence in the constitutional measures of each, are duties required by the plainest considerations of national, of state, and individual welfare.

" The series of acts of the Thirty-first Congress, commonly known as the Compromise, or adjustment, (the act for the recovery of fugitives from labor included,) are received and acquiesced in by the Whigs of the United States, as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the subjects to which they relate; and so far as these acts are concerned, we will maintain them and insist on their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand, and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency to carry out the requirements of the Constitution; and we deprecate all further agitation of the questions thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however made, and we will maintain this settlement as essential to the

" nationality of the Whig party, and the integrity of the " Union."

The political opponents of the Democrats and Whigs met at Pittsburgh, Pa., on August 11th, and thus they resolved on slavery :

" That to the persevering and importunate demands of
" the Slave Power for *more slave States, new slave Territories,*
" *and the nationalization of slavery* our distinct and final answer
" is—**NO MORE SLAVE STATES, NO SLAVE TERRITORY, NO**
" **NATIONALIZED SLAVERY, and NO NATIONAL LEGISLATION**
" **FOR THE EXTRADITION OF SLAVES.**

" That the acts of Congress known as the Compromise
" Measures of 1850, by making the admission of a sovereign
" State contingent upon the adoption of other measures
" demanded by the special interest of slavery; by their omis-
" sion to guarantee freedom in free Territories; by their
" attempts to impose unconstitutional limitations on the power
" of Congress and the people to admit new States; by their
" provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State
" debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more,
" and the cession of a large territory to the same State, under
" menace, as an inducement to the relinquishment of a
" groundless claim; and by their invasion of the sovereignty
" of the States and the liberties of the people through the
" enactment of a most unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional
" Fugitive Slave law—are proved to be inconsistent with all
" the principles of Democracy, and wholly inadequate to the
" settlement of the questions of which those are claimed to be
" an adjustment.

" That no permanent settlement of the slavery question
" can be looked for except in the practical recognition of the
" truth that slavery is sectional and freedom national.

" That the Free Democratic party is not organized to aid
" either the Whig or the Democratic wing of the great slave
" Compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both;
" and that, repudiating and denouncing both as hopelessly
" corrupt and unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free
" Democracy is to take possession of the Federal Government
" and administer it for the protection of the rights and inter-
" ests of the whole people.

" That we inscribe on our banner '**FREE SOIL, FREE**
" **SPEECH, FREE LABOR, and FREE MEN.**' and under it will
" fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall
" reward our exertions."

Henry Clay, on his death-bed at Washington, D. C., in June, 1852, urged his friends in the Baltimore Convention to support acting-President Fillmore for a nomination.

Daniel Webster died in October, 1852, advising his personal friends to support Franklin Pierce, the Democratic nominee for President. So it may be seen that both the renowned Whigs, Clay and Webster, died with the desire that Winfield Scott, the Whig nominee for President, should not be chosen to that office.

The Free Democracy nominated John P. Hale for President, and George W. Julian for Vice-President, respectively from New York and Indiana.

The platform adopted by this party was somewhat remarkable for its length, its moral power, and its comprehensive statesmanship. It declared in favor of free soil, free land, no extension of slavery, internal improvements, etc., etc. The percentage of Whig and Free Soil strength in a few States is herewith presented:

NAME OF STATE.	HALE.	SCOTT.	PIERCE.
Massachusetts.....	22.4	42.0	35.6
Vermont.....	19.7	50.6	29 7
Wisconsin.....	13.6	34.4	52.0
New Hampshire	12.6	30.6	56.8
Maine	9.8	39.6	50.6
Ohio.....	9.0	43.1	47.9
Michigan.....	8.7	40.8	50.5
Illinois.....	6.4	41.8	51.8
New York	4.8	45.0	50.2
Connecticut	4.7	45.5	49.8
Iowa	4.6	45.0	50.4

Mr. Wood, during the campaign, was challenged by Judson A. Beebe to a public discussion of the political issues, and having accepted the challenge, the challenger, a distinguished attorney, declined to meet the young prophet, who was but a farmer Quaker.

John P. Hale, for President, had 45.1 per cent of the vote of Geauga County, 44.3 of Ashtabula, 38.9 of Lake, 38.1 of Lorain, 30.2 of Trumbull, and 21.4 per cent of Morrow County.

In 1853 William Medill, Democrat, for governor of Ohio, had 147,663 votes; Nelson Barrere, Whig, had 85,820, and Samuel Lewis, Free Soil, had 50,340 votes.

In twenty-one counties the Lewis vote was ahead of the

Barrere vote; in six counties Lewis was ahead of Medill; and in Geauga and Lake counties Lewis led both Barrere and Medill. In Lorain County Lewis was 1,270 votes ahead of his Whig opponent; in Ashtabula he was 1,257 votes ahead of his Democratic opponent, while he was also 917 votes ahead of Barrere; and in Lorain he was also 69 votes ahead of Medill.

The 17.7 per cent of Free Soil vote in Ohio in 1853 was relatively a large one, and Massachusetts, whose per cent was 22.4, was the only State that surpassed Ohio in her Free Soil vote that year.

On December 5, 1853, when President Pierce sent his first annual message to Congress, he said that "the repose on the slavery question should suffer no shock" during his term of office if he "had the power to avert it."

Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, the able and energetic United States senator from Illinois, at the beginning of the Pierce administration was chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories. During the closing days of the Fillmore administration he made an apparently sincere effort to establish the Territory of Nebraska, a bill providing for the same having passed the House of Representatives by a two-thirds vote; but it was laid on the table in the Senate two days before the inauguration of President Pierce. This Nebraska bill fully recognized the binding force of the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

But on January 5, 1854, Hon. Archibald Dixon, of Kentucky, the last Whig governor of that State, had been elected to succeed Henry Clay, "the great Compromiser," in the United States Senate; and he was the first to assail the work of Senator Clay and reopen a controversy whose sequel was a fratricidal war between sections of our common country. Senator Dixon gave notice that when the bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska, should come before the Senate he would move that "the Missouri Compromise be repealed, and that the citizens of the several States shall be at liberty to take and hold their slaves within any of the Territories."

The movement of Senator Dixon was not an accidental or an immature one, but Senator Douglas reported a measure to organize two territories—Kansas and Nebraska—and in the following section of the bill was the "Trojan horse":

"That the Constitution and all laws of the United States,

" which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force
" and effect within the said Territory of Kansas as elsewhere
" within the United States, except the eighth section of the
" act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union,
" approved March 6, 1820, which, being inconsistent with
" the principles of non-intervention by Congress with slavery
" in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legisla-
" tion of 1850, commonly called the Compromise Measures, is
" hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true in-
" tent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any
" Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave
" the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their
" domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the
" Constitution of the United States: *Provided* that nothing
" herein contained shall be construed to revive or put in force
" any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the
" act of March 6, 1820, either protecting, establishing, pro-
" hibiting, or abolishing slavery."

The States that gave their whole vote or a majority of it to the measure were Alabama, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The States that gave their whole vote or a majority of it against the measure were Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin. Illinois and New Jersey were evenly divided in their votes on the bill. Ohio gave four votes for the bill; seventeen against it.

Mr. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," said:

" The most striking result in the political field, produced
" by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was the utter de-
" struction of the Whig party. Had the Southern Whigs in
" Congress maintained the sacredness of the work of 1820, the
" party throughout the country would have been able to make
" a sturdy contest, notwithstanding the crushing defeat of
" Scott two years before. Not improbably in the peculiar
" state of public opinion, the Whigs, by maintaining the Com-
" promise, might have been able to carry the presidential
" election of 1856. The great body of Whigs, both in the
" South and in the North, did not lose hope of a strong re-
" organization of their old party until the destruction of the
" Missouri Compromise had been effected. That was seen
" and felt by all to be the end."

CHAPTER II.

Removal to Kansas.—Freedom's Advance Guard.—Opening Hostilities.

In 1854 Mr. Wood was a law student in the office of Stinchcomb & Brumbaugh, in Mt. Gilead, Morrow County, Ohio, and on June 5, 1854, he was admitted to practice at the bar of Morrow County. These lawyers were Democrats, and when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was pending in Congress an indignation meeting was held at Mt. Gilead, and Mr. Wood took an active part in the meeting, opposing the bill and "squatter sovereignty." On September 15, 1879, at the Kansas quarter-centennial anniversary at Bismarck Grove, Mr. Wood gave this account:

"Mr. Brumbaugh said to me: 'The bill will pass, and then what will you do about it?'

"I said, 'If the bill passes, I, for one, will go to Kansas and help fight the fight over again.' I recollect I was cheered, but I did not think what I was saying at that time. I had no idea then of going to Kansas, but in the course of the next thirty days the question was frequently asked me when I was going to start. It became evident to me, as to everybody else, that the bill was going to pass. One night I went home and told my wife that as soon as the bill passed I was going to Kansas, and asked her what she would do. She said if I would go, she was going also.

"The bill passed on May 30, and on June 6 we—that is, myself, wife, and two children—were on the road to Kansas; and we had never heard of the Emigrant Aid Company."

On that bright morning the meadows, fields, and forests were glorious in their green attire under the June sunlight. Sweetly the birds sang and the flowers bloomed, and the long, slender branches of the beeches seemed waving a tender farewell as the little family passed, going to the front, where the forces of freedom and slavery were soon to be marshaled for mortal combat—for an Armageddon battle.

At Cincinnati a Louisville packet, almost ready to leave the landing, took Mr. Wood and his family on board; the

team and wagon were placed on the lower deck, and the "Sultana" steamed down to Louisville. Thence, on another boat, they rode to St. Louis, where they took passage on the "Sam Cloon" for Independence, Missouri.

The steamer was crowded with passengers, many of whom were going to Salt Lake, under the care and guidance of Elder Orson Pratt, one of Brigham Young's "twelve apostles."

Shortly after leaving St. Louis the cholera broke out, and some cases proved fatal. The cabin passengers were panic-stricken, and many left the boat at the first landing.

Only two men on that steamer were fearless enough to minister to the wants of the sick and dying. They were S. N. Wood and Elder Orson Pratt.

One woman, not a Mormon, died soon after the attack. Mr. Wood held her hands and wiped the sweat from her brow, while the Mormon elder did all he could to alleviate her sufferings and comfort the departing soul.

Bravely and faithfully they cared for the stricken passengers, and many recovered who might have died but for their unselfish exertions. Orson Pratt was one of Brigham Young's "twelve apostles," and may not have been the whitest saint in Mormondom; but S. N. Wood always remembered, kindly and gratefully, his partner in the work of caring for the suffering cholera patients on the old "Sam Cloon."

Mr. Wood and his family landed at Independence, where they found Mrs. Wood's father and his family, who had started a month before for California. They were easily persuaded to settle in Kansas Territory. From Independence Mr. and Mrs. Wood made a trip into the Territory.

The following copies of letters to papers at Washington, D. C., and Cincinnati, O., will be read with interest:

"WESTPORT, JACKSON COUNTY, MO.
"June 28, 1854.

"*To the Editor of the National Era:*

"DEAR SIR,—I have left my Ohio home and friends, and "have come here for the purpose of selecting myself and fam- "ily a future home in this, the fairest portion of God's earth. "A struggle is before us. It looks as though the people of "this country think they can people, or dictate who shall "people, the whole Kansas Territory. They, in the start, "flocked into the Territory by hundreds. Men would take

" perhaps a dozen claims, stick their stakes, mark their names, " get up a little meeting, resolve to protect each other and " each other's claims. They also resolved, at all hazards, that " Kansas belonged to and should be settled exclusively by " slave-holders.

" After this nine out of every ten return to their Missouri " homes supposing they have fixed, beyond the possibility of " repeal, the institutions of Kansas for all time to come.

" Meetings are held in Missouri where lynching is pub- " licly recommended as the last resort to drive the 'white- livered abolitionists' out of Kansas into Nebraska, which, " they condescendingly say, is set apart for us. A few " Northern men have been driven from the Territory; others " frightened away. A few slave-holders have already moved in " with their slaves.

" The Methodist missionaries, sent here for the purpose " of enlightening and Christianizing the poor Indian, have " their slaves to do the drudgery of the missions; thus, while " they are enlightening and Christianizing one class of heath- en, they are grinding down and blotting out the very souls " of other heathen, as an auxiliary in the good cause. Indeed, " it is a question whether they Christianize or heathenize the " most. Of course the influence of these large mission estab- " lishments is against us. At Fort Leavenworth the United " States officers are degrading themselves and their calling by " going with the South, and hooting at Northern men, and " even justifying lynching of them, for no other cause than " that they are Northern men.

" A dark picture, truly; but think not that it has no bright " side. Northern men can be found who cannot be scared; " settlements have been commenced, and slave-holders become " frightened. Already we hear, 'they will not trust their " slaves there.'

" I have just made a trip over into the Territory and found " on the Indian reserve scores of families from Iowa, Illinois, " Indiana, and other Northern States, and still they come. " Next week we have a general meeting up the Kansas River, " where hundreds of freemen will be rallied; a fiat will then go " forth that will sound the death-knell of slavery in Kansas, at " least.

" All we ask is for Northern men and Southern men tired " of slavery, who design emigrating here to come *now*. Now " is the time they can suit themselves with homes, and above " all, *now* or *soon* this slavery question must be met and " settled.

" During our trip over into the Territory we saw the " Baptist missionary—a pure and warm anti-slavery man. " We also took dinner at the Quaker or Friends Mission

" found the Superintendent, Friend Thayer, sick, but were
" kindly received by his family and Richard Mendenhall, their
" teacher, and his amiable wife—all good anti-slavery people,
" to whom we are indebted, not only for their kindness to us,
" but for much valuable information.

" Say to free men, come on, secure homes, and assist in
" this great struggle between slavery and freedom.

" Our nearest post-office at present is Westport, Jackson
" County, Missouri. Yours truly,

" SAMUEL N. WOOD."

The following matter is extracted from a letter that was published in the *Columbian* at Cincinnati, Ohio, and it was copied in many papers throughout the land, and it helped to swell and enlarge the great heaving waves and heart-beats for the sacred cause of freedom:

" We arrived here about a week ago for the purpose of
" settling in Kansas and contributing our mite to prevent
" slavery cursing the fairest part of creation. We have made
" one short trip over into the Territory and satisfied ourselves
" that a man can get about such a home as he likes. I never
" saw richer land, and it appears inexhaustible. We saw,
" among the Shawnee Indians, some of the best farms that we
" ever saw in our lives.

" The only drawback is this slavery question. Missouri-
" ans have already flocked to this Territory by hundreds;
" many slaves are already in the Territory. Even at the
" Methodist Mission they are heathenizing the black in order
" to Christianize the red man.

" A few missionaries thought in the start that they would
" regulate the whole Territory; Northern men were ordered
" off; lynching was freely talked about, even by United States
" officers at Leavenworth, merely because they happened to be
" born north of Mason and Dixon's line. Some Northern men
" were actually driven off; others were frightened away. All
" manner of lies had been told and misrepresentations made
" to keep Northern men away; but now the charm is broken.
" A dozen families of Free Soilers drove ahead and have com-
" menced a settlement on the Kansas River. A meeting is
" called on July 8 of those friendly to making Kansas a free
" State. Emigrants from Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana are ar-
" riving daily. Ten days will not pass until the cabins of at
" least two hundred opponents of slavery will be in process of
" construction. With a few more we shall be invincible. All
" we want is for Northern men—every Northern family—who
" have their minds on this Territory, to come on at once.
" This slavery question must be met and decided *now*. Let

" slavery once get a foot-hold and she will be hard to rout;
" while a proper demonstration now will scare all the slave-
" holders out of the Territory, and prevent more slaves being
" brought here. Let me therefore say to one and all who ever
" design coming here, to come at once; no time is to be lost;
" you will find every assistance extended you to get good
" claims, that is possible."

That last sentence will revive some pleasant memories of those early days. The Free State men who were first on the ground were so glad of accessions to their ranks that they freely assisted them in finding and locating homes. S. N. Wood, with his team and wagon driven by himself, rendered good service to many a claim-hunter.

Later in the autumn of 1854 he built the first frame house in Lawrence. It was 14 by 16, with two rooms; one upstairs and one below. It was constructed entirely of split timbers and split boards. That house was never too full to accommodate more. As many as twenty sometimes lodged in that house in one night.

The following letter from Mr. Wood to the Eastern and Northern press shows a desire to correct any wrong impressions concerning the people of Missouri that might have been conveyed by former letters:

" Notwithstanding the threats and brow-beatings of tho
" Missourians, the greatest proportion of the settlers here are
" Northern people. Nine-tenths of the balance are honest
" Southerners, who are coming, as they say, to get rid of
" slavery. I was mistaken in the character of the Missourians.
" A few *fanatics* who were resolved to extend slavery at all
" hazards, seemed for a time to give tone to the whole people;
" but a better acquaintance convinces me that many of the
" people condemned the violent resolutions passed at West-
" port and other places.

" 'Do you apprehend any serious difficulty with slave-
" holders?' is often asked. I answer, no; although they have
" threatened much, yet they are not fools, and they well know
" that the shedding of Northern blood to sustain slavery here
" would raise a storm that would end only with slavery itself.
" Northern men need not fear; all they have to do is to be
" true to themselves, and not yield, coward like, to the demands
" of these slave-holders and padlock their lips and 'wait until
" the proper time comes to meet this question.' Now is the
" proper time; now is the time that the slaveholders are mov-
" ing heaven and earth to establish slavery here; and now is
" the time for us to meet them like men, and not cry, 'Hush,

"be quiet! don't agitate the question now; wait until we are
"stronger."

"One explanation is necessary here: in speaking of
"missions I did not make the proper distinction; my remarks
"were true as to some missions, but I have since become
"acquainted with Dr. Still, a Free State man, who also has a
"mission here.

"One word to immigrants: Those who have money can
"do well here. Lands which can now be got for nothing by
"paying a year hence the Government price, I think will in
"two years be worth from \$20 to \$30 an acre.

"No new country ever settled so fast as Kansas is now
"settling. People are coming by scores; tents are all over the
"prairies; cabins are going up in all directions; work is
"plenty. A man, though poor, if he can and will work, can
"do well. A man with only a team is independent.

"Immigrants must expect to meet some hardships; we
"have no fine houses to receive you in; everything yet is
"inconvenient; but settlers generally are of the right kind,
"with pioneer hearts. Society is good; we are all friendly
"and accommodating.

"A person who meets present difficulties and gets his
"choice of land will not regret it. If I were in Ohio to-day
"with my knowledge of this country, I would lose no time in
"coming, pitching my tent, building a cabin, and preparing to
"live. Understand me, I urge no one to come; but if you have
"decided, and are coming, now is the time. The sooner here
"the better for you. I am truly yours,

"S. N. WOOD."

Mr. Wood settled on the California road, west of Lawrence, making his claim on June 24, 1854. Andreas's "History of Kansas" says of the time:

"John A. Wakefield, B. W. Miller, S. N. Wood, and per-
"haps a dozen others, had taken claims, and were trying to
"hold them against the brow-beatings of the Missourians, who
"were constantly making counter-claims and warning them
"out of the Territory."

The early settlers, or squatters, in selecting their claims, in order to protect themselves, formed associations for mutual protection and support. A call was issued for a meeting of the settlers at Blue Jacket's store, on the Wakarusa, on July 9, 1854. This was the formation of the *Wakarusa Association*. Another association was formed, called the "Actual Settlers' Association," composed, as the name indicated, of those who actually dwelt on their claims. Of this John A.

Wakefield was president, and S. N. Wood was register. These associations met in August, 1854, and agreed to resolve themselves into an organization to be known as "The Mutual Settlers' Association of Kansas Territory."

Mr. Wood operated in the interest of harmony, and it was ordered that the money in the treasury of the "Actual Settlers' Association" be paid to him for his services as register.

At Weston, Missouri, on July 29, 1854, a meeting of slave-holders was held, at which resolutions were adopted declaring in favor of extending slavery into Kansas, and a "Defensive Association" was formed, sworn to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigrant Aid Societies. These resolutions were signed and published by Gen. B. F. Stringfellow, as secretary.

One of these resolutions declared that Kansas must be made a slave State; another that it was the duty of Missourians to prevent by force, or otherwise, all Northern fanatics, abolitionists, or "hostile emigrants" from the free States from passing through the State to Kansas; and the eighth resolution announced: "We will afford protection to no abolitionist, as a settler of Kansas Territory."

This resolution simply meant violence, as no devotee of freedom and equality would ever be guilty of the manifest absurdity of asking any protection from such a bloody, depraved band.

But on September 14, 1879, Mr. Stringfellow sent a letter to the Quarter-Centennial Celebration at Bismarck Grove, from which these extracts are made:

"I have now to regret that I am not a *free man*, but under *obligations* which will compel me to be absent. Freedom is not absolute, and this is one of the many occasions where I am forced to admit myself a *slave*, and would be glad were there any underground railroad by which I might flee from my bondage and be with you. It would be a special pleasure to present myself as one of the witnesses that, wide as we may have differed in other days, we are all now heartily united in efforts to promote the prosperity and happiness of our common country."

The following from the *Jackson Mississippian* of July 11,

1854, after the lapse of thirty-eight years, will be read as a curiosity :

" All the best locations in the Territory have already been
" staked out, and the foundations for log cabins laid by hun-
" dreds and thousands of slave-owners, from the border slave
" counties of Missouri, who have entered into solemn pledges
" to protect each other in their claims, and to keep all aboli-
" tionists from the Territory. There remains no longer a
" doubt but that Kansas has already made a beginning which
" insures it a slave State. Greeley and the abolitionists
" may flounder and flutter until they are satisfied; Kansas is
" now a slave Territory and will be a slave State. There are
" already enough slave-owners interested in Kansas to whip
" out all the abolitionists who may dare to pollute the soil
" with their incendiary feet. The slave-owners of Virginia,
" Kentucky, and Tennessee, by hundreds and thousands, will
" soon seek that delightful country, and, would you believe it,
" Mississippians have already been in the Territory and
" staked out claims, in the names of men whom they have taken
" along to erect a log cabin on each pre-emption.

" It is reasonable to suppose that Kansas will soon pre-
" sent to Congress her Constitution, with a slavery clause.
" Then Southern men will be required to breast the gathering
" storm, as men who have a country to lose; and they will
" take pleasure in despising such traitors and dough-faces as
" Benton, Houston, Bell, and their Free Soil allies."

On October 1, 1854, Moses Pomeroy, a fine young man who had died at the house of S. N. Wood, was the first person buried at Lawrence. A correspondent of the *Puritan Recorder*, of Boston, wrote as follows of the death of this young man :

" Mr. and Mrs. Wood did everything in their power for
" him; he had fallen among the kindest of friends, but they
" could not save him."

During the autumn of 1854, Mr. Wood became associated with John Speer, who came from Medina, Ohio, in the publication of the *Kansas Tribune*. Its first issue in Lawrence was on January 5, 1855.

Governor Robinson, on September 16, 1879, made this neat little introduction of one of the early Kansas women :

" Some of you, no doubt, remember the valuable services
" rendered by two ladies on a certain occasion in our early
" troubles. One of those ladies is present now, and I know
" you want to hear her. Her name is Mrs. S. N. Wood."

Mrs. Wood said :

" It seems to me but a very short time, and yet it is a

" good while. There has been a great deal done in the past twenty-five years, since my husband came home and told me he was going to Kansas, and asked me if I wanted to go. I told him that if he was going, I too wanted to go. We took our wagon and team and started to Cincinnati. We had two little children, one a baby, the other over two years old. We came from Cincinnati on an old steamer of some kind, and from there up the Missouri, and landed at Independence. We stayed there a little time, and then came out into the Territory and made our home here.

" While we were at Independence a meeting was held at Westport, at which resolutions were passed declaring they would drive out or kill all Northern men who would come to Kansas. We were very quietly warned of this just as we were leaving Independence. A friendly Missourian told us he was afraid 'them resolution fellars' would make trouble for us. We met no great difficulty and came to Kansas, but the times often seemed very dark. I think if I could have looked forward and seen what was in the future I should have shrunk from it, but we were somehow enabled to meet the difficulties as they came; we never lost our faith in the ultimate triumph of freedom and right. We have never become alienated from Kansas, our home. Kansas is dearer to us to-day than ever. Here we expect to stay, to die, and be buried."

When passing through Westport, Mo., *en route* to Kansas, Mr. Wood stopped at a blacksmith shop, and while he was waiting for some repairs on his wagon man after man approached and questioned him: "Where are you going?" "Where are you from?" "Are you in favor of a slave or free State?" On hearing his replies each one informed him that he must go to Nebraska; that Kansas Territory belonged to the South, and no Northern people would be permitted to settle there. Their attempt to dictate his choice of a home irritated him, and he told them that he knew where he was going and would go wherever he chose, and advised them to attend to their own affairs; and they left him.

CHAPTER III.

Historical Address.—The Struggle for Freedom in Kansas.—Repudiation of Bogus Laws.

In May, 1877, Col. S. N. Wood gave an address before the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka, on "Early Kansas." In the preface to his elaborate address he remarked :

" I am asked for something in my recollections of our early history, but I know of none of our early history in which I was not a personal actor. To write one's own biography is a little embarrassing, but what else can a modest man, as Col. Veale represented me last winter, do? Hence, I wrote your secretary that my address should be an autobiography."

Referring to the first anti-slavery lecture that he attended, which was in the days of his early boyhood, he said, "At that meeting the first anti-slavery society was formed in our county, and father, mother, and four children became members."

The following incidents he gave of the early days are interesting :

" Our house was soon known everywhere as the home of anti-slavery people, and was a home that never disobeyed the divine injunction, ' Feed the hungry.' An anti-slavery library was established, and my reading was all against slavery. I was taught that 'the rights of the whole human race were equal; and that to know the rights of all, we only had to analyze and know the rights of one.' The *Philanthropist*, published at Cincinnati, Ohio, became our family paper. The Declaration of Independence was committed to memory. I believe with John Wesley, that 'slavery is the sum of all villainies.'

" The anti-slavery agitation took a political shape in 1840, and the Liberty party national ticket got three votes out of four hundred in the township where I lived. In 1844 this vote was increased to twenty-two. Although I was only in my nineteenth year, I gave an active support to the Birney and Morris ticket. In 1852 there were one hundred votes polled in our township for Hale and Julian.

" I was thoroughly anti-slavery. My father's house had always been opened to the fugitive slave, and many a time

" I have traveled the entire night, guiding them on their road toward the North Star and the land of freedom. It was on one of these occasions that I first met my wife. Her father was a deacon in the Presbyterian Church, and for feeding a fugitive had been arraigned before the session and the church was rent in twain. It is needless to say she inherited no love for slavery. We were married, and had a family of two children when the Kansas-Nebraska struggle took place, in 1853-4."

Giving a running account of the departure from Ohio, the route to the border of Kansas Territory, with incidents connected with the trip, the journey into the Territory, and the return to Missouri, Mr. Wood thus portrays the conflict in thought, in the following words:

" On our return (Mrs. Wood and myself) we camped for the night at Bull Creek. Here, on the morning of July 4, 1854, we had our first Free State conflict. We took breakfast with a Mr. McCamish, who kept a small trading post. A stranger, at breakfast, who proved to be Brady, of Missouri, afterwards State printer under the Border Ruffian Legislature of Kansas, was very talkative. He had been to a 'squatter' meeting the night before, and some one had advanced Free State sentiments. He evidently took us for Missourians to the manor born. I answered his questions in monosyllables, and ate my breakfast almost in silence. Over my clothes I had on a loose stable frock, and under it the inevitable companion of Westerners, a belt and revolver. Just as we were rising from the table he said, 'There are some who say we have no right to bring our slaves into Kansas and hold them as property.' I replied, 'That is my position exactly,' and ventured to add, 'Suppose you bring your slaves here, and I sue out a writ of *habeas corpus*, and compel you to show by what right you hold them as property; you cannot plead the Constitution of the United States, because it has not a word on the subject; you cannot plead the laws of Missouri, for they are not in force in Kansas; you cannot plead the laws of Kansas, for we have passed none, and your slaves would be as free as you are.'

" With his Missouri bluster and an oath, he said, 'I have but one reply for such sentiments, and that is with the revolver and with hemp.' Scarcely had the words passed his lips before my cocked revolver was at his breast, and, with the first oath of my life, I told him I would as soon square that way as any other. You may guess my astonishment to learn that he meant nothing personal to me; in fact, had no idea of using either revolver or hemp. We returned to Independence, Missouri, without further trouble."

Indulging in some reminiscences relating to claim-hunting, during a second trip into Kansas Territory, with a Mr. Roff, from Illinois, whom he met at Independence, he referred to the town-site of Lawrence, on which the then sole settler, a Mr. Stearns, lived in a floorless cabin, and offered to sell his claim for \$50; he gave the following incidents upon his return to the border:

"At Westport, with my axe in my hand, I enquired at the "post-office for letters. Dr. Earle, the postmaster, after looking, became inquisitive and asked me where I was from. I replied, 'From where we have to hold sheep up by the hind legs so they can get their noses between the stones to eat grass.' He asked if any more were coming. I replied, 'Yes; twenty thousand are on the road.' It was just a day or two before that a meeting at Westport had resolved to hang every 'white-livered abolitionist' who dared to set his foot in Kansas, and declared further that every man who lived north of Mason and Dixon's line is an abolitionist. Hunting for my friend Roff, I found him in a neighboring saloon, and I entered and ordered lemonade for the crowd, some sixteen in all, and when all stepped up to drink, I apologized for treating only to lemonade, as I never drank anything stronger, and claimed the right to propose a toast. The party assented, and I gave, 'Here's to Kansas and a free State.' Yet no one proposed to hang me and the toast was received with cheers. I had learned by this time that there was an under-current, even in Missouri, in favor of a free State. I had, previous to this, written a letter to the *National Era* giving a full account of the excitement on the border. It was, I believe, the first Free State letter published from Kansas. I had dated it at Westport, Missouri, and signed my own name. This letter had been extensively copied and had found its way into the *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis). I was at Westport when the *Republican* containing it reached that town, and more than once I heard vengeance sworn against the writer. I am not quite sure but I joined in the general indignation expressed. That night I stopped with a family between Westport and Independence and was treated with the third reading of that letter. I was willing to let it pass, especially as the head of the family swore that if he ever 'set eyes on the writer,' he would kill him. I knew he was lying, but did not deem it proper to tell him so, for fear it might be the truth after all; in fact, as this was almost twenty-three years ago, I cannot now remember distinctly where, that night, I claimed to live or who I was.

"At Westport every means possible, except open violence, was used to keep us out of Kansas. We were told, 'It is

"awful sickly on the Wakarusa.' 'Claims all taken.' 'Free State men must go to Nebraska.' I finally told them that we had all taken claims and knew where we were going. I was asked if I had recorded my claim. I told them that I had ridden the country over and could find no recorder. I was then informed that the recorder resided in Westport, Missouri, and I was urged to record my claim; 'Only fifty cents, you know.' I finally told them I preferred to send back where I came from in Ohio and have it recorded there.

"I used to go down to Kansas City about once a week for supplies, and through the papers learned of the New England Emigrant Aid Company and Eli Thayer. Camping one night between Westport and the Wakarusa, for a mere joke I peeled a large elm and wrote, 'Eli Thayer claims twenty miles square, of which this is the center, for the Emigrant Aid Society.' Thayer's supposed presence in the Territory reached the border; excitement was at fever-heat, and the pro-slavery men of Westport offered \$1,000 for Thayer, dead or alive.

"About the first of August the first Massachusetts party reached Mount Oread. There was great rejoicing in our little settlement. Thirty Free State accessions, at that time, was a matter of no small moment. Mounting a horse, I rode to their camp. I was astonished to find that almost the whole party were afraid to own that they were Free State men. They had landed in Kansas City and passed Westport in the night, and they in turn seemed astonished to learn that I was a Free State man, known as such, and in Westport and Kansas City every week. I recollect some noble exceptions, however, in this party, among whom I will mention Dr. John Doy, J. C. Archibald, S. F. Tappan, and D. R. Anthony. These men were outspoken. I confess ever since this meeting I have had a warm side for D. R. Anthony; he was one of the true men of twenty-three years ago; one of the immigrants of 1854, he never hesitated to speak his thoughts, and always had the backbone to stand up for his principles. I took Anthony and one or two others a short time afterward, to Westport, and he did not hesitate there to openly declare himself a Free State man.

"Out of thirty immigrants of this New England party, only ten or a dozen remained in Kansas, and the pro-slavery men undertook to scare them out of the Territory. Western Free State men had been tolerated, but the 'Yankees' must be driven out. They were duly notified that unless they left by such a night, tar and feathers would be the result. I was also notified to leave and threatened with a similar punishment. Regarding the threat as idle buncombe, I loaned what arms I could muster to the Yankees, and encour-

" aged them to stand their ground ; if necessary, to fight. The " night passed over and nothing was done, but we were prom- " ised that the next night we would not be disappointed. I " believed that our little settlement was safe unless the Yankees " were routed ; and as soon as it was dark I hastened to the " Yankee camp ; a council of war was held and preparations " made for defense. Sam Tappan and myself went on picket " duty. Sitting beside the road an hour, a dozen horsemen " passed us ; being close to the ground, we were unseen, but " we heard enough to know that the camp was to be routed.

" Reinforced by two more men at a pro-slavery house " half a mile ahead, we heard them returning. The night be- " ing very dark, we lay within a few feet of the road. We " waited until they were within twenty-five feet of us, when " we sprang to our feet, and the words rang out on the night " air, 'Make ready, take aim, fire !' Bang, bang, bang, went " our revolvers in the air. It was enough ; the battle was " over, the victory won. We listened until we could hear the " horses' hoofs as they galloped a mile away. This was the " first Free State victory in Kansas."

On October 19, 1854, Governor Reeder, on his way to Fort Riley, was given a reception at Lawrence. Mrs. S. N. Wood, responding to a toast, "The Ladies of Lawrence," said :

" Woman's sphere is wherever there is a wrong to make " right, a tear to wipe away, a good work to carry forward ; " and 'tis here to guard our beautiful State from the invasion " of wrong, oppression, intemperance, and all that tends to de- " base and demoralize mankind. Yes, Kansas must and will " feel that woman has an influence, and that influence on the " side of God and truth."

Samuel N. Wood responded to the toast, "The Kansas Pioneer."

The Kansas Atheneum was established late in 1854, James S. Emery was president, and S. N. Wood librarian.

At the first Free State meeting, which was held at Lawrence on December 23, 1854, S. N. Wood reported the resolutions, which were adopted.

The following narrative is one of bravery and self-control:

" Just after the election on November 29, 1854, for Terri- " torial delegate to Congress, I went to Kansas City, Missouri, " with Judge John A. Wakefield, to get tickets printed. On " our return, at Westport I went into the post-office for our " mail, as we had no post-office at that time at Lawrence. The " office was in the back room of Dr. Earle's drug store. The " pro-slavery men of the border were returning from the meet-

"ing at Leavenworth, where Whitfield, a Missourian, had been
"nominated for delegate to Congress from Kansas.

"While in the office selecting the mail for our settlement,
"I soon became painfully aware that the front of the store
"was full of ruffians, and that my name was in every mouth;
"their conversation was all intended for me. I would have
"sold my chances for getting out of there alive for ten cents,
"but there was no escape. Dr. Earle eyed me closely, but
"said nothing. Pulling my revolver around a little to the
"front and examining the caps, with pockets full of letters
"and arms full of papers, I entered the front room. As I
"entered, a big six-footer shouted, 'Here comes that d—d
"abolitionist now.' I replied, 'If you were not a contemptible
"puppy, I might notice you.' I was, of course, watching
"every motion. The six-footer lost all control of himself, and
"made a spring for me, but I quickly stepped aside and he
"passed me, and before he could gather himself and turn
"around, and quicker than I can tell it, I laid my papers on
"the counter, caught him around the waist, raised him from
"the floor, and threw him backward on the floor; with one
"knee on his breast, I struck him in the face. He grabbed
"my hair with one hand, when I reached my left hand, caught
"him by the hair, pulled his head to the floor, and got
"in another blow in his face. I recollect seeing the blood
"running down his face, and the words, 'Take him off.' I
"was helped to my feet, but no further violence was offered.
"Taking up my papers, with all the politeness imaginable,
"I said 'Good night, gentlemen,' and left. I was never in-
"sulted in Westport afterwards. The audacity of the act
"saved me.

"In December, 1854, I went to Boonville, Missouri, for
"the *Kansas Tribune* office. John Speer had shipped it from
"Ohio a little too late to reach the Territory. The river had
"frozen over, and the printing press, with other goods, had
"been stored at Boonville. It was thought at the time quite
"an undertaking to haul an 'abolition' press through the
"heart of Missouri. The spring of 1855 came, and with it
"more immigrants. The election for members of the first
"Legislature was held on March 30.

"The census had just been taken, showing 3,905 voters in
"the Territory. Of these a later investigation showed 891
"voters. Such was the terrorism that existed. 791 of these
"were Free State, yet 8,601 votes were polled. Of these over
"700 voted in Lawrence, where we had a voting population
"of only 251. Many Kansas men were at the election, armed
"with Free State tickets in one hand and cocked revolvers in
"the other.

"Mr. Stearns, Mr. Willis, and Mr. Bond were run from

" the polls, Bond jumping down the river bank just as two or " three shots were fired at him. At this a cry was raised to " shoot every abolitionist on the ground. A Free State man " responded: 'Gentlemen, here are one hundred Free State " men with hands on their revolvers; they want no trouble, " but shoot one Free State man, and one hundred of you will " die.' General Shelby came to your speaker and said. 'Quiet " your men and I will try to quiet ours.'

" We had no further trouble at the polls. I was defeated " for the Territorial Council by over 900 votes out of a voting " population of 251."

Wilder's "Annals of Kansas" show a total of 4,141 illegal votes at this election. The members thus fraudulently elected went to Governor Reeder and demanded certificates of election, which he finally, though reluctantly, issued, except in six districts, where he called a new election to be held in May. The usurpers paid no attention to this election, except in Leavenworth, where they swarmed over from Missouri in numbers sufficient to out-vote the Free State men.

They were jubilant over their victory, and declared themselves conquerors of Kansas. Their newspapers teemed with exultation, and urged these lawless men to not let the good work stop, but to carry it on until every Free State man was driven out. Hon. L. J. Eastin, a councilman-elect and editor of the *Leavenworth Herald*, in its issue of April 20, 1855, said:

" We hope we will never hear again the oft-repeated " question, 'Will Kansas be a slave State?' reiterated; for it " would be absurd and ridiculous for any one to entertain the " least doubt of Kansas becoming a slave State when the re- " turns of the election present such indisputable, incontestable " evidence of slavery becoming one of her domestic institu- " tions."

The *New York Tribune* of April 19, 1855, in an editorial on "The Rising Cloud," has the following:

" The great battle between Freedom and Slavery is grad- " ually approaching, yet the country is everywhere quiet, and " the public tranquility undisturbed. Not even the distant " rumble of the tempest is heard. The little cloud that de- " notes it hovers only over a handful of people in the far " West. In Kansas alone exists the speck that foreshadows " the coming storm. Kansas has been invaded by slavery. " It is threatened with the unending curse of that institution. " A country large enough for a kingdom is there to be wrested " from the possession of the free States and blackened with

"African bondage. The impudence of this attempt is only paralleled by its atrocity. If it is successful, and if a House of Representatives can be found to consummate the deed, the people of the free States will have fallen into a condition so degraded that earth might well open and swallow the pretenders to manhood. They will stain the ground whereon they tread, and deserve no better fate than the chains and fetters that bind the black race in the South. If a man can be found in the free States to counsel a surrender of Kansas to the slave power now, or at any period, he is a coward and a slave in soul. That power has entered upon a career of subjugation and conquest. The free Territories of this Union are the possessions it covets, and it has marshaled its forces and armed its mercenary hosts to conquer them. "The battle is begun."

On June 25, 1855, a Free State delegate convention met in Lawrence, "to take into consideration the relation which the people of this Territory bear to the legislature about to convene at Pawnee." The officers were: President, John A. Wakefield; Vice-Presidents, John Brown, Jr., J. E. Curtis and John Speer; Secretaries, R. G. Elliott and Charles Foster; Committee on Resolutions, S. N. Wood, John Brown, Jr., J. P. Fox, A. Wattles, and A. R. Powell.

The following preamble and resolutions were presented by S. N. Wood, chairman of the committee, and adopted:

"WHEREAS: Certain persons from the neighboring State of Missouri have from time to time made irruptions into this Territory, and have by force and fraud driven from and overpowered our people at the ballot-box, and have forced upon us a legislature which does not represent the opinions of the legal voters of this Territory, many of its members not even being residents of this Territory, but having their homes in the State of Missouri; and

"WHEREAS: Said persons have used violence towards the persons and property of the inhabitants of the Territory: therefore,

"Resolved, That we are in favor of making Kansas a free Territory, and as a consequence, a free State.

"Resolved, That we urge upon the people of Kansas to throw away all minor differences and issues, and make the freedom of Kansas the only issue.

"Resolved, That we claim no right to meddle with the affairs of the people of Missouri or any other State, but we claim the right to regulate our own domestic affairs, and with the help of God we will do it.

"Resolved, That we look upon the conduct of a portion of the people of Missouri, in the late Kansas election, as a gross outrage upon the elective franchise and our rights as freemen, and a violation of the principles of popular sovereignty; and inasmuch as many of the members of the present legislature owe their election to a combined system of force and fraud, we do not feel bound to obey any law of their enacting.

"Resolved, That the legally elected members of the present legislature be requested, as good and patriotic citizens of Kansas, to resign and repudiate the fraud.

"Resolved, That in reply to the threats of war so frequently made in our neighboring State, our answer is, 'WE ARE READY.'

"Resolved, That the people of Kansas are opposed to the establishment of slavery here, and if established it will be contrary to the wishes of three-fourths of our people.

"Resolved, That Kansas has a right to, and does hereby, invoke the aid of the general Government against the lawless course of the slavery propaganda with reference to this Territory.

"Resolved, That a Free State central committee be appointed, and that each election district shall be entitled to one member and each district having two councilmen be entitled to two members."

The 4th of July, 1855, was gloriously celebrated at Lawrence, and Dr. Charles Robinson was orator of the day; and Mr. Wood, in remarking that "the oration should be republished, not only for its brave and noble sentiments, but as the first 4th of July oration by a Free State man delivered in Kansas and as a part of our history," gave in his "Historical" address some of the concluding part of it, as follows:

"Let every man stand in his place and acquit himself like a man who knows his rights, and knowing, dares maintain them. Let us repudiate all laws enacted by foreign legislative bodies, or dictated by Judge Lynch. Tyrants are tyrants and tyranny is tyranny, whether under the garb of law or in opposition to it. So thought and so acted our ancestors, and so let us think and act.

"We are not alone in this contest. The entire nation is agitated upon the question of our rights; the spirit of '76 is breathing upon some; the handwriting upon the wall is being discerned by others; while the remainder, the gods are evidently preparing for destruction. Every pulsation in Kansas vibrates to the remotest artery of the body politic, and I seem to hear the millions of freemen and the millions of bondmen in our land, the millions of the oppressed in other

" lands, the patriots and philanthropists of all countries, the " spirits of our Revolutionary heroes, and the voice of God, all " saying to the people of Kansas, 'Do your duty.'"

Col. Wood continued in the following glowing strain :

" Noble words and bravely spoken! Can you realize to- " night how the woods resounded with our cheers? How two " thousand voices cheered 'Free Kansas'? How we renewed " our resolve to make Kansas free? But little did we dream " that day that Kansas would not only be free, but that within " ten years four millions of slaves would pass through the Red " Sea of blood to a land of freedom."

Referring to the "Border Ruffian Legislature" of 1855, Col. Wood said :

" The laws of Missouri were passed in a body; and also " an act entitled 'An act to punish offences against slave " property.' This law would have disgraced South Carolina " in the palmy days of slavery; and thus slavery was recog- " nized as one of the institutions of Kansas.

" All appointments were taken from the governor and " vested in the legislature. It was provided that every " attorney in order to practice in the courts, every person " elected or appointed to office, and every candidate for the " legislature must swear to support 'The Legislative Slave " Law.'

And here is some of that very interesting legislation:

" If any free person, by speaking or writing, assert or " maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in " this Territory; print, publish, write or circulate, or cause to " be introduced into the Territory, written, printed, published, " and circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, " pamphlet, or circular containing any denial of the right of " persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be " deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at " hard labor for a term of not less than five years."

The enticing, decoying, or carrying out of the Territory a slave belonging to another was punishable with death.

Richard R. Rees, a lawyer from Ohio, ten months in the Territory, forty-three years of age, was President *pro tem.* of the Territorial Council. A sententious declaration from one of his speeches was this : " **JUST LAWS AND RIGID EXECUTION.**" He was assigned the important position of chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and this is his report on a certain bill :

" The Committee on Judiciary, to whom was referred a " bill entitled 'An act to punish decoying slaves from their

" masters," respectfully report that they have had the same for " some time under advisement, and recognizing the correctness of the provisions of the act, but one question has " occupied the attention of the committee, and that is the character of the punishment prescribed in the bill. At first presentation of the subject there was an apparent severity, which seemed not to be in accordance with the crime; and, viewing the offense in the light of grand larceny alone, the genius of our institutions and the prejudices of the day in which we live at once discard so extreme a punishment. But when we view the offense in its bearing upon our institution at this peculiar and particular time, it assumes more the character of treason against the laws than an ordinary crime, which but affects the parties immediately interested, or the immediate community in which the offense may have been committed. It may, in its incendiary tendency, lead to consequences of the most fearful character, as well upon our political as social institutions. It is an offense the frequent occurrence of which we may well imagine might light the bonfires of civil war, and result in bloodshed more fearful than a thousand murders. We are therefore, in view of this, prepared to sanction the penalty of death, and respectfully recommend the passage of the act.

" R. R. REES, *Chairman.*"

On September 19, 1879, at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the settlement at Lawrence, Judge John P. Usher, who had been Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President Lincoln, made the following remarks upon the foregoing :

" When I say that the member of the Legislative Council whose name is attached to that report as chairman of the Judiciary Committee was in his nature one of the kindest men in the world, for it was my privilege to know him many years as such, it only shows how imperious and exacting were the demands of the slave power upon the men deputed to do the work of fastening slavery upon Kansas, and of persecuting and driving out those who sought to make this the dwelling-place of freedom."

Col. D. R. Anthony, referring to Mr. Rees, said :

" To the day of his death no word of regret for the course he had pursued in the dark days of old border ruffian rule ever escaped the lips of this man. Can we, ought we, to forget these things? Ought not history to record the truth? This man was as kind and as gentle as a lamb in his personal relations with his fellow-men. You could not meet a better man face to face than he was."

Col. Wood, in his address before the State Historical

Society, recites the provisions of the Legislative Slave Law, and says :

"A beautiful prospect, truly, for free men in Kansas !
" No wonder the timid left. But it had one good effect. It
" caused an open rupture between Governor Reeder and the
" legislature. Lane, Reeder, and the Northern Democrats
" came with almost open arms into the Free State ranks."

The Border Ruffian Legislature met at Pawnee, near Fort Riley, on July 2, 1855, organized, and proceeded at once to expel the Free State members. They subsequently adjourned and met again at the Shawnee Mission on the eastern border of Kansas, near Westport, Missouri.

On July 11 a meeting of the expelled members of the legislature and others convened at Lawrence to consider what to do next. They resolved to hold a mass meeting of the citizens of the Territory in Lawrence on August 14. At this convention Charles Robinson, as chairman of Committee on Resolutions, reported a series denouncing the Border Ruffian Legislature as originating in fraud, repudiating its authority, and pledging resistance to the enforcements of its enactments. This is one of them :

"Resolved, That as men born in a land of liberty, trained
" to precepts of freedom, and alive to those inspiring senti-
" ments which have prompted in all ages heroic resistance to
" tyrants; as descendants of those who in 1776 braved the
" power of the mightiest monarchy on earth rather than sub-
" mit to foreign thralldom, we repudiate this insolent attempt
" to impose upon us a government by foreign arms, and pledge
" to each other, as our fathers did of old, 'our lives, our for-
" tunes, and our sacred honors,' to a resistance of its authority."

Col. Wood, referring in his address to this convention, said :

" General Lane was in this convention and approved
" these resolutions. The world was moving, and in this con-
" vention we had Whigs, Democrats, Free Soilers, and aboli-
" tionists trying to unite and devise some means to rid our-
" selves of the oppressions of this Border Ruffian Legislature."

One historian says of this convention, "The radicals re-
ceded some, and the conservatives advanced until all were in
harmony."

A delegate convention was called and met at Big Springs on September 5, 1855, "to take such action as the exigency of the times may demand." J. S. Emery reported a series of resolutions, among which we find :

"Resolved. That we owe no allegiance or obedience to the " tyranical enactments of this spurious legislature; that their " laws have no validity or binding force upon the people of " Kansas; that we will resist them to a bloody issue, as soon " as we ascertain that peaceable remedies shall fail," etc.

At this convention ex-Governor Reeder, who had been removed by President Pierce, upon the demand of the slavery propaganda, and superseded by Wilson Shannon (a pro-slavery Democrat of Ohio), was nominated for delegate to Congress.

The report of the convention's proceedings described the closing of his speech in response to his nomination as follows:

"He waited to hear the rebuke, by the correct public sentiment of the South, of the violent wrongs which had been perpetrated by Missourians in our Territory. Should it not come, and all hope of moral influence to correct these evils be cut off, and the tribunals of our country fail us, while our wrongs still continue, what then? Will they have grown easier to bear by long custom? God forbid that any lapse of time should accustom free men to the duties of slaves; and when such fatal danger as that is menaced, then is the time to

"Strike for our altars and our fires,
Strike for the green graves of our sires,
God, and our native land.'

"When he paused, there was for an instant a deep silence, "as when a question of life or death is being considered—" every man drew a long breath, but the next instant the air "was rent with cries: 'Yes, we will strike! White men can "never be slaves! Reeder! Reeder! Nine cheers for Reeder "and right!'"

A delegate convention at Topeka on September 19th provided for a constitutional convention, to meet on the fourth Tuesday of October, 1855, the election to be held on the second Tuesday. This convention was in session sixteen days, and adopted the Topeka Constitution.

CHAPTER IV.

Blue Lodges.—Murder of Dow, and Rescue of Branson.—The Siege of Lawrence.—Murder of Barber.—Retreat of the Enemy.

The Blue Lodges of Missouri and Kansas were secret organizations, whose members were sworn, on peril of their lives, to make a slave State of Kansas. In the fall of 1855 they became very active and strong; and one of the members, whose conscience revolted against murder even in the interest of slavery, revealed the fact that a new policy had been agreed upon: Free State men were to be killed privately—struck down, one to-day in one place, one to-morrow in another, until no Free State man would feel safe. This put every man on his guard.

Some ten miles south of Lawrence two men, Franklin L. Coleman, a pro-slavery Missourian, and Charles W. Dow, a Free State man, had adjoining claims.

On November 21, 1855, difficulties which had existed between them were ended by Mr. Dow being shot dead while walking away from Mr. Coleman's house, by Mr. Coleman. This occurred at 1 o'clock P. M., and the body of Mr. Dow remained uncared for by Mr. Coleman or any of his friends, many of whom knew of the murder.

During the night Mr. Coleman fled to Westport, Missouri, and subsequently surrendered himself to Governor Shannon for trial.

After sunset the body of Mr. Dow was removed by Jacob Branson, with whom he had been living, and at his funeral there was great grief and sincere sorrow at his untimely and cruel death.

On the Monday following nearly one hundred indignant Free State settlers met near the house of the murderer Coleman. On the spot where Dow was killed it was resolved to bring the murderer and his accomplices to punishment.

James B. Abbott, who lived near and south of Blanton's

bridge on the Wakarusa, S. N. Wood, and Sam. F. Tappan were present and participated in the meetings.

An effort to burn Coleman's house was prevented by S. C. Smith and S. N. Wood smothering the flames, while some cried, "Burn the house!" S. N. Wood jumped upon the fence and said murder, pillage, and arson were the peculiar avocations of our enemies; that houses were too scarce to be burned, and this meeting must not be disgraced in this way. He moved, as the sense of the meeting, that the house be not burned, which resolution was unanimously carried.

Harrison Buckley, an intimate friend of Coleman's, had cause for fear, as he had on the morning before the murder threatened Dow's life, aiming his gun at him. Buckley went before Hugh Cameron, a provisional justice of the peace, and swore out a warrant for the arrest of Jacob Branson, alleging that he believed his life was in danger at his hands, he having made threats against him.

On any just interpretation of what was involved in a true "popular sovereignty," the appointment of a virulent Missouri pro-slavery postmaster to the position of sheriff of Douglas County, Kansas, was a great travesty upon the letter and spirit of justice.

Sheriff Jones had the murderer Coleman under his especial protection, who was finally sheltered at Shawnee Mission, even Lecompton having been deemed an unsafe place for the criminal.

On the evening of the 26th, returning from the meeting at Hickory Point, Mr. Wood's pony gave out, and he stopped at James B. Abbott's place to let it rest.

In his "Historical" address he relates these events that followed:

"While at supper S. F. Tappan came in and informed us "that Sheriff Jones with a posse of Missourians had gone to "Hickory Point to arrest Branson. Tappan had met them "on the bridge over the Wakarusa, turned and rode with "them until he learned their destination, and then came to us.

"No time was to be lost. It was determined that Abbott "and myself were to hasten to Hickory Point, warn Branson, "and arouse the neighborhood; but horses half a mile away "had to be procured, which took time; but we were soon off, "and Tappan went to notify the neighbors and ask them to "meet at Mr. Abbott's.

"We hurried to Branson's house, but were too late. The ruffians had got him and gone. Believing that their intention was to kill him, we determined to rescue him. We rode the prairies over, made inquiries, but no trace could be got of them. Hours were passing and we returned to Abbott's house, and resolved to arm ourselves and proceed at once to Franklin, the pro-slavery headquarters.

"At Abbott's were assembled several men from Hickory Point and other places. In all there were fifteen, as follows: "J. B. Abbott, S. N. Wood, Paul Jones, Philip Hupp, Miner Hupp, Philip Hutchinson, Harrison Nichols, John Smith, "Jonathan Kennedy, Elmore Allen, Carlos Holloway, Rev. Julius Elliot, Edward Curles, Wm. Mears, A. Rowley."

Only one of these, S. N. Wood, was from Lawrence. They opened a box containing eight Sharpe's rifles, and were busy putting in the slides and getting them and the few pistols in the crowd ready for use, and planning their course, when some one announced, "They are coming, and almost here."

They rushed out of the door, which was in the rear of the house, ran around to the road, and formed a line across it. Some two or three of them had no guns, but as they passed the wood-pile each one seized a stick of wood of the right length, to pass for guns in the dim light.

In mass meetings they had repudiated the bogus legislature, and resolved to resist the enforcement of its laws.

A Free State man's life was now in peril, and in every heart throb, in every quick-drawn breath, as they caught their weapons and arrayed themselves against these tools of the slave power, they said, "We will resist."

Holloway's "History of Kansas" thus tells what followed:

"When the advancing party spied them, they sought to shy around, but were prevented by the extending line of the intercepting force. Whereupon Jones shouted out, 'What's up?'

"S. N. Wood—'That's what we would like to know.'

"Abbott—'Is Branson there?'

"Branson—'Yes, I am here, a prisoner.'

"Wood—'If you want to be among your friends, come over here.'

"Several to Branson—'If you move, we will shoot you.'

"Philip Hupp, a hoosier—'Shoot and be d—d.'

"Wood—'Come on; let them shoot if they dare. Gentlemen (addressing the posse), shoot but one gun at Mr. Branson and not a man of you will be left alive.'

" Branson—' I will do as you say.'

" Company—' Come on, come on.'

" Branson then crossed over to the rescuing party.

" Wood—(stepping forward and taking hold of the bridle)

" ' Whose mule is this?'

" Branson—' It is theirs.'

" Wood—(turning the mule about and giving it a kick)

" ' Go back to your friends.'

" Jones—' My name is Jones; I have a warrant to arrest old man Branson and I must serve it.'

" Wood—' We know of no Sheriff Jones in Kansas, nor in Douglas County, and what is better, we never intend to know him. We know of a postmaster in Missouri named Jones.'

" Jones—' I have a warrant to arrest Branson and I *must* do it.'

" Wood—' If you *must* arrest him, go at it. I am Branson's attorney; if you have a warrant for him, let me see it.'

" Jones—' I have one, but do not see proper to show it at present.'"

Six more men, two of whom lived in Lawrence, here joined the Free State party.

After considerable parley, Sheriff Jones and his party rode off in the bright moonlight toward Franklin, breathing threats of quick and withering retribution on the abolitionists of Lawrence.

The tradition is, that arriving at Franklin, he wrote, and dispatched a special messenger to Col. Boone, of Westport, Missouri, calling for help, remarking, as his messenger departed, " That man is taking my dispatch to Missouri, and by —! I will have revenge before I see Missouri."

Some of his friends suggested that it was an irregularity to call on Missouri instead of on the governor of Kansas Territory, whereupon he wrote and sent the following message to Governor Shannon:

" DOUGLAS COUNTY, K. T., November 27, 1855.

" SIR: Last night I, with a posse of ten men, arrested one Jacob Branson, by virtue of a peace warrant, regularly issued, who, on our return, was rescued by a party of forty armed men, who rushed upon us suddenly from behind a house by the roadside, all armed to the teeth with Sharpe's rifles.

" You may consider an open rebellion as already commenced; and I call upon you for three thousand men to carry

"out the laws. Mr. Hargus, the bearer of this letter, will give you more particularly the circumstances.

"Most respectfully, SAMUEL J. JONES,
"To His Excellency, *Sheriff of Douglas County.*
"WILSON SHANNON, *Governor of Kansas Territory.*"

Governor Shannon recited Sheriff Jones's letter to Major-General Wm. P. Richardson, and added: "You are hereby ordered to collect together as large a force as you can in your division, and repair without delay to Lecompton and report to Sheriff S. J. Jones."

This meant all Missouri.

Secretary of the Territory, Daniel Woodson, understanding the situation, wrote to Gen. Easton, of Leavenworth, as follows:

"DEAR GENERAL: The governor has called out the militia, and you will hereby organize your division and proceed forthwith to Locompton. As the governor has no power, you may call out the Platte [Missouri] Rifle Company. They are always ready to help us. Do not implicate the governor, whatever you do. DANIEL WOODSON."

Events had followed each other in quick succession, and the murder of Dow, the indignation meeting, Branson's arrest and his rescue—all these occurrences had been miles outside of Lawrence; and, excepting S. F. Tappan and S. N. Wood, no citizen of the town had taken part in the affair. S. N. Wood had been known as a man who fought "on his own hook" and who assumed the personal responsibility of his own acts. When the Branson rescuers reached Lawrence, Charles Robinson advised that there should be no formal endorsement of their act, as such a course would only give the enemy the long-wished-for pretext to attack the town. S. N. Wood was not only in hearty accord with this, but said he would willingly be arrested in order to test in the Supreme Court the right of Missouri to make laws for Kansas; but no one would assent to this proposition, and a meeting of citizens was called to consider the situation of things.

At this meeting S. N. Wood presided. He recited with telling effect the circumstances of the arrest of Branson on the evening before, and his rescue in the night, and the threats which Sheriff Jones had made, and the sympathy of the audience was with him. Mr. Branson, in his artless and simple

style, told of the murder of his dear friend, his own arrest and rescue, and, referring to his anxious wife now alone in his cabin, not knowing whether he was dead or alive, he offered to leave the country if the citizens desired, rather than bring trouble upon his neighbors, who bore no responsibility in the matter. But no one suggested that Branson should go.

The following is from Mrs. Sarah T. L. Robinson's "Kansas; Its Exterior and Interior Life":

"S. N. Wood spoke briefly of the murder of Dow, of the meeting the day before in the same neighborhood, of the arrest of Mr. Branson, with whom Mr. Dow had lived; of the rescue of the prisoner without bloodshed, and of the necessity that he and the rest of the community be defended from similar attacks. He did not hesitate to say he was in the rescue of the night before; he knew the importance of the step. He was unable to express his feelings when the clicking of the gun-locks sounded in the darkness, telling that the time had come for a deadly conflict. He was equally unable to do so when, without firing a shot, these men who had boasted so much gave up the prisoner, declining to fight a number less than their own and with fewer arms. Branson also spoke of the death of his friend Dow and the wanton assault upon himself; he said Lawrence should not be involved in difficulty on his account. G. P. Lowrey, who had been private secretary to Governor Reeder, moved the appointment of a committee of ten to advise for the common defense."

The committee was appointed and submitted the following report:

"We, the citizens of Kansas Territory, find ourselves in a condition of confusion and defencelessness, so great that open outrage and mid-day murders are becoming the rule, and quiet and security the exception. And whereas the law, the only authoritative engine to correct and regulate the excesses of society and right its wrongs, has never yet been extended to our Territory, thus leaving us with no fixed or definite rules of action or source of redress, we are reduced to the necessity of organizing ourselves together, on the basis of first principles, and providing for the common defence and general security. And here we pledge ourselves to the resistance of lawlessness and outrage at all times, when required by the officers who may from time to time be chosen to superintend the movements of the organization."

A Boston man said he "guessed the tea had been dumped into the harbor again." A Western man said, "The fat is in

the fire now, sure." The situation was a serious one. The Lawrence people knew Jones and the character of the marauders he would call out for the purpose of subduing them; there were serious apprehensions of coming peril, yet no one attempted to escape. There was no thought of retreat or compromise on the part of that little band of men and women who stood alone and unflinching—brave outposts on guard for the freedom of a world.

Within five days the border counties of Missouri poured over two thousand men into Kansas. They had taken guns, swords, revolvers, and three six-pounders from the United States arsenal in Clay County, Missouri.

The largest force camped about ten miles southeast of Lawrence; a detachment was near Lecompton, and some two hundred Platte County riflemen were stationed near Lawrence on the north side of the river. The black flag floated over their camps. Their mounted patrols surrounded the town on all sides, guarding every road and path, to allow no man to leave or pass into Lawrence.

Notwithstanding their vigilance, the Free State men in all parts of the Territory seized their guns and hurried to the defence of the beleaguered town. Coming singly or in small squads, they slipped through the lines in the night. Each day revealed more men drilling in the ranks, more men at work on the fortifications. One hundred armed men came in a body from Topeka and were royally welcomed.

A memorial signed by "many citizens" was sent to Congress; also a dispatch to President Pierce, signed by three prominent Democrats, setting forth the situation and asking relief. These were sent through the lines by special messenger, as the United States mails for the time were not permitted to carry news from the people of Kansas to the outside world. Yet David Buffum, in disguise, smuggled a brass canon through from Kansas City. Nearly one thousand men were enrolled and under arms, drilling and obeying with alacrity the orders of their chosen commanders, General Charles Robinson and Colonel James H. Lane.

While these men were brave and would have fought like tigers in case of a collision, they were prudently advised by

General C. Robinson to act strictly upon the defensive, and give no pretext for an attack. In a speech to them he said:

"Men of Lawrence and Free State men! We must have courage, but with it we must have prudence. These men have come from Missouri to subjugate the Free State men, to crush the Free State movement—their pretence that outrages have been committed. They are sustained by all the United States authorities here; and while they do not think it essential that a good cause for fighting be given them, the authorities will wait at least for a plausible excuse before commencing to shed blood. This excuse must not be given them. Each man must be a committee of one to guard the reputation as well as the lives of the Free State men. If the Missourians, partly from fear, and partly from want of a sufficient pretext, have to go back without striking a blow, it will make them a laughing-stock and redound fearfully against Shannon. This is the last struggle between freedom and slavery, and we must not flatter ourselves that it will be trivial or sport. The Free State men must stand shoulder to shoulder with an unbroken front, and stand or fall together in defence of their liberties and homes. These may be dark days, but the American people and the world will justify us, and the cause of right will eventually triumph."

A few men were detailed to mold the cone-shaped bullets for the Sharpe's rifles, and the ladies of Lawrence met daily and nightly in S. N. Wood's house and made them into cartridges, while they tried to encourage and cheer each other, listening in the pauses of their conversation for the opening sounds of a deadly conflict. The suspense and fear endured by those who were alone in their cabins on the prairies may be imagined. Many of those pioneer women have reached the land of the blest; some still linger here, weary, and with snow-drifts in their hair; but oh! artist, when you paint their portraits put a halo of light around each head, such as the old masters placed around the heads of martyred saints.

It was decided that those who had been engaged in the Branson reccue should leave, so that the mob should have no excuse for attacking Lawrence. S. N. Wood, S. F. Tappan, and S. C. Smith walked to Topeka, where they received a hearty welcome.

On December 1st there was not one of the Branson rescuers visible; not one of the men in Lawrence who had ever openly defied Jones or the Territorial laws under which he had

been appointed, and by virtue of which he claimed authority to make arrests of Free State men.

In their retreat, near Topeka, Mr. Wood and his two companions heard a rumor that Lawrence had been attacked and Robinson and others killed, and they hastened back to Lawrence. Arriving at midnight, they found all on the alert. Barber was killed, and his corpse lay near headquarters. He was shot by either Hon. James N. Burnes, who died while a representative in the 51st Congress of the United States, or by George W. Clark, Government agent for the Pottawatomie Indians.

The night of their return was the most critical period of the siege. Every ford on the Wakarusa was guarded, and armed patrols were everywhere. Gen. Pomeroy, in trying to get out with letters and dispatches, walking and disguised as a minister "going to our mission," had been captured, and was in the hostile camp on the Wakarusa.

On the 5th of December G. P. Lowrey and C. W. Babcock were sent to state the case to Governor Shannon, and ask him if the armed mob surrounding Lawrence and committing depredations were authorized by him. They were frequently interrupted on their journey, but finally reached the governor and induced him to investigate the situation in person. When he reached the Wakarusa camp and had a conference with the leaders, and found them determined on war and the destruction of Lawrence, he was appalled at the situation, and dispatched a message to Colonel Sumner at Fort Leavenworth, begging him to bring his troops "to prevent bloodshed," which that strict officer refused to do without orders, but said he was ready to move by day or night, when the proper orders should come.

Shannon's mission, as governor of Kansas Territory, under the Pierce administration, was to secure the establishment of slavery in Kansas; but his kind heart revolted against the carnage and destruction that were now imminent. Upon his request for an interview, the Free State leaders sent an escort to attend him to Lawrence. Three of the pro-slavery leaders accompanied him. Without making any real concessions, and by means of the most skillful diplomacy, the Free State commanders, Robinson and Lane, made a treaty with Governor

Shannon and his allies, and he ordered the leaders to disband their forces. The rank and file of the invading army were angry, and swore that Shannon had "sold" them. But the night set in dark and dreary, with a wild snow-storm sweeping over the prairies; their supply of whisky was exhausted; their courage and enthusiasm waned, and their two-weeks campaign ended by a hurried departure in the early morning for home.



CHAPTER V.

S. N. Wood One of the Organizers of the Republican Party.—Returns to Kansas.—Narrow Escapes.—Hunted from Home.—In Ohio Again.

The Wakarusa war furnished a great deal of history. Many things relating to and bearing upon it are told in an interesting way by Colonel Wood in his address before the Historical Society, among which is this :

“ Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Wood with horse and buggy drove “ through the enemy’s lines, across the Wakarusa, to James B. “ Abbott’s, and put two kegs of powder under the buggy seat “ and returned in safety, although halted several times by the “ ruffians.”

On that critical night when the Branson rescuers returned to Lawrence, Charles Robinson asked Mr. Wood if it were possible to pass the enemy’s pickets, dodge their patrols, and get letters where they could be mailed. He answered, “ With two good men and horses, I will try it.” He went home, bade his wife good-bye, kissed his sleeping children, and in half an hour afterwards he left Lawrence.

Giving a somewhat detailed statement of his line of travel and interesting incidents connected therewith, he said :

“ At Osawatomie, where I procured a light one-horse “ wagon with driver, I started for Lexington, Missouri. Al- “ most everybody knew me by reputation, but, luckily for me, “ they did not know me by sight, and while I was small, “ weighing at that time only 130 pounds, they imagined Sam “ Wood a large man with horns.

“ One innocent old man wondered how Northern men got “ money to build underground railroads, when in Missouri “ they could not raise money enough to build them on top of “ the ground. I had no disposition to explain, and confessed “ my ignorance.

“ Just before reaching Lexington, I dismissed my team “ and walked to the principal hotel. Lexington was full of “ armed men, and I ventured to enquire the cause, and was “ told by the polite clerk that they were returning from Kan- “ sas. I asked for a room and complained of illness. When

" I registered, the last name on the register was that of Joe Shelby, of Sibley. If the curious ever examine that register, " they will find the next name that of 'Richard Smith, Louisville, Kentucky. In the next minute I was in my room, " where I remained until long after the supper hour, when I " ate a late supper, paid my fare on the stage to Herman, the " western end of the railroad, and returned to my room.

" At 11 o'clock the stage was announced, and I returned to " the office of the hotel and found it full of men. If known in " that crowd, my life was not worth a song. I detected a " young man staring at me, but he did not speak and turned " away. Afterwards I found him a fellow-passenger on the " stage and from near Lawrence. A Missouri gentleman, ac- " costing me, said we had met before and asked me where. I " made bold to tell him it was when we all went to Lawrence " to vote against the abolitionists. He said, 'O, yes,' and " shook me cordially by the hand, talked a moment, and passed " on. The stage was full and I was the only pro-slavery man on " board. Our journey was at last at an end, and we took the " cars for St. Louis. I went to Ohio, mailed my letters, and " called on the leading Republicans."

After his safe departure from the Territory Mr. Wood visited the Eastern States, where by his telling efforts and vigorous, matter-of-fact speeches he created a great degree of enthusiasm for Kansas, and very greatly stimulated emigration to the scene of conflict. Through his services, doubtless, thousands of people resolved to come to Kansas and make their homes, being prepared to take their chances in the great, irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery.

The effort to force slavery into Kansas, and the evident approval by the Administration of the lawless methods of the South to this end, were arousing the people everywhere.

In January, 1856, the following call was put forth :

" To the Republicans of the United States:

" In accordance with what appears to be the general " desire of the Republican party, and at the suggestion of a " large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned " chairmen of the Republican State Committees of Maine, " Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, " Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin hereby invite the Repub- " licans of the Union to meet in formal convention at Pitts- " burgh, on February 22, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting " the national organization, and providing for a national del- " egate convention of the Republican party, at some subse- " quent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-

" Presidency, to be supported at the election in November, " 1856."

The convention was called to order by Lawrence Brainard, a Free Soil United States senator from Vermont, and a notable prayer was offered by Rev. Owen Lovejoy, of Princeton, Bureau County, Illinois, in which he presented "a petition to Almighty God, signed by all the true-hearted lovers of equality and liberty in the Republic," praying that "the present wicked administration may be removed from power, and its unholy designs on the liberties of the people be thwarted."

S. N. Wood represented the Republicans of Kansas in that convention, and was made a member of the committee of one from each State to draft resolutions and prepare an address to the people of the United States.

The address was a lengthy and precious one, embracing in a brief way the history of the aggressions and crimes of slavery. It went in pamphlet form by the thousand into every free State of the Union, freighted with the gospel of freedom.

Thrilling speeches were made in this convention by distinguished men; Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, a representative from Ohio, saying :

" For the last twenty years it has been so often declared
 " upon good authority that I am a fanatic, that I had almost
 " begun to believe it myself; but had I been told that I would
 " live to witness a scene like this, I should have called my
 " informant a fanatic. Years are condensed into hours when
 " I see the progress the cause has made; but there is yet the
 " consummation to be won by this generation. The pleasantest
 " reflection of my life is that *the contest with the slave power is*
" drawing to a close. I now look forward to the time when,
 " having fought the good fight, I can retire in peace to the
 " bosom of my family with a clear conscience of duty to my
 " fellow-men and to my God performed as best I knew."

It was a position of prominence for a man 31 years of age, who, in a confessed minority in political organizations, had been brave enough to fight for the right; and at last found himself with a party beginning to exult in the prospect of victory.

Mr. Wood's "Historical" address gives the following account of his return to Kansas:

" In March, 1856, the papers of Ohio announced that

" S. N. Wood would leave Columbus with a party of emi-
" grants for Kansas, via Cincinnati, on a day named. Half-
" fare rates had been procured over the railroads and reduced
" rates by boat via Louisville to St. Louis.

" From Cleveland our little party was augmented at every
" station until we reached Cincinnati, when we numbered over
" one hundred. At the hotel speeches were made and we
" were duly lionized. Of course by this time all Missouri
" knew we were on our way to Kansas. Leaving our friends
" on the boat, I hastened to St. Louis to make arrangements
" for our passage up the river. Here I learned that a boat
" had been stopped at Lexington and boxes containing Sharpe's
" rifles, in charge of one Hoyt, stolen, and the Missourians
" were swearing that no more abolitionists should go up the
" river. Making myself thoroughly acquainted with the situa-
" tion, I commenced arranging for our trip. At the wharf
" was the 'Polar Star,' a fast boat in complete order, but in
" bad repute among Free State men on account of having put
" a Free State man ashore the fall before. The captain was
" anxious to redeem the character of his boat, and offered re-
" duced rates for our party to Kansas City or Leavenworth.
" He had at the time but one passenger. I chartered the boat
" for our party alone. No others were to go without our con-
" sent. The one passenger was transferred to another boat.

" I called the captain's attention to the fact that a boat
" had just been stopped and robbed at Lexington, and that
" the captain had been accused of treachery. He agreed that
" in case of an attack I should have control of the boat and
" my orders should be obeyed.

" When the Louisville packet arrived the 'Polar Star'
" had fired up and was ready to move. Some Kansas emi-
" grants from Rock Island joined us, and our passengers and
" baggage were transferred to the 'Polar Star.'

" Forty Georgia roughs, who had come up on the Louis-
" ville packet, were very indignant because they could not go,
" as they said they were in a hurry to go up to Kansas to fight
" the abolitionists. Wishing to be accommodating, I offered
" to take forty men and go ashore and fight them then and
" there, and save them the expense of the trip, which was of
" course refused.

" Among our baggage were some twenty suspicious-look-
" ing boxes which had been borrowed, with contents, from
" the Ohio State Militia. Daylight found us steaming up the
" Missouri. I collected the fare, quietly informed the passen-
" gers of their danger, urged them to keep cool, sober, have
" their arms in readiness, and, in case of difficulty, let me do
" the talking.

" I paid \$1,500, the amount agreed upon, to the captain.

" He soon after informed me that it had been telegraphed to Lexington from St. Louis, that we were armed with Sharpe's rifles, and he feared trouble, and he wished to know if we had Sharpe's rifles. I informed him there was not a Sharpe's rifle on board that I was aware of, but that we were well armed; that the boxes contained U. S. and not Sharpe's rifles; reminded him of his promise, and told him we should defend our property at all hazards, and if necessary would take control of the boat, and impressed him with the idea that the safety of the boat depended on our safety.

" At Sibley landing, being on the upper deck, Joe Shelby recognized me and sang out, 'Hallo, Wood! How many abolitionists have you on board?' I replied, 'About two hundred.' As we approached Lexington, I noticed that the street from the city to the landing was full of men. I estimated that five hundred men were in sight and coming toward the river. I sent five armed men below to stand guard over the hold of the boat, cautioned our men to keep cool, and in case of an attack, to each pick and kill a man, but to make no threats or bluster.

" No sooner had our boat touched shore than a rush was made, and in five minutes the cabin was crowded, and 'Where is S. N. Wood?' was yelled from one of the party. Stepping upon a table and blowing upon a policeman's whistle, I answered in a quiet way, 'Here I am; what do you want?' They wanted to know if I had any Sharpe's rifles. I laughed at them; told them if we had they could not use them; told them to bring down those they took from the other boat, and we would show them how (the slides had been taken out and sent to Kansas by express). I asked them if it was true that they had said they did not know how to shoot the 'ornery things,' but supposed they were all right when they got used to them. I cannot repeat all that passed, but they had stopped to talk, and the day was ours. The bell rang, they rushed ashore, and we proceeded up the river.

" From Lexington the trip was delightful; there was no gambling or drinking; the bar-tender closed up in disgust, saying he 'never saw such a d--d set.' We made a quick trip, passed the usual complimentary resolutions, landed at Kansas City, cheered the boat and hurrahed for free Kansas, and reached Lawrence about the 15th of April.

" Our escape at Lexington was a lucky one for somebody, as the very next boat was stopped and taken possession of by a mob. I think we were the last Free State party that came up the river that spring."

Mr. Wood gave the following account of his return to Kansas:

"At Lawrence I met my family, greeted old friends, but found the Territory in a terrible state of excitement. The future of slavery was to be settled on the plains of Kansas. But I was not permitted long to rest. On April 19, stepping into the law office of James Christian, I met Sheriff Jones and two or three others. After talking a moment, Jones clapped his hand on my shoulder and said, 'You are my prisoner.' I said I doubted it, did not know that my wife would consent; wanted a copy of his writ, which he refused. I offered to return in fifteen minutes, etc., but as we could come to no agreement, I walked out of doors. A rod from the house he again seized me. I was feeling rather good, and watching him closely, also trying his strength and studying about the propriety of whipping him; and finally told him I would go no further.

"He called on the by-standers to help him, and attempted to draw his revolver. Anticipating the act, I drew it myself, and passed it behind me, and neither Jones nor myself know to this day what became of it. About this time John Speer, a justice of the peace, rushed between us, commanding the peace, shoving Jones one way and me the other. I walked up street a block or two, and sat down in my own house until Jones and party left.

"That Jones attempted to arrest me without a warrant is evident; first, because he refused to produce it; and second, on the next day he wrote as follows to Donaldson, the United States marshal:

"LECOMPTON, April 20, 1856.

"Major I. B. Donaldson:

"MY DEAR SIR,—Samuel N. Wood is now in Lawrence, and I wish you to send me the writ against him. I arrested him yesterday and he was rescued from my hand by a mob. The governor has called upon Col. Sumner for a company to assist me in the execution of the laws. I will have writs gotten out against Robinson and some twenty others.

"In haste, your obedient servant,

"S. J. JONES."

The following matter is in the "History of Kansas" known as Andreas's:

"On April 19, 1856, Sheriff Jones arrested Mr. Wood on the streets of Lawrence, on the charge of rescuing Jacob Branson in November, 1855. The surrounding crowd of men managed to get Mr. Wood and Sheriff Jones apart, so that they lost trace of each other, and the sheriff departed minus his prisoner.

"On the next Sunday morning he re-appeared in Lawrence, armed with four additional warrants for persons who

" he claimed had indirectly aided the supposed prisoner to " get out of his sight.

" Sheriff Jones summoned some of the church-goers, on " their way to attend public service, to assist him in making a " search for the person he desired, but their devotional feel- " ings furnished them an ample excuse for declining to par- " ticipate in such an arresting service.

" On returning to Lecompton the sheriff notified Governor " Shannon of the disrespect shown him by the citizens of " Lawrence; and thereupon the governor requested Col. " Sumner to furnish a United States officer and six soldiers, as " a posse for the sheriff. Accordingly Lieut. McIntosh and " six men were detailed, and sent to assist the sheriff; Col. " Sumner having notified the mayor of Lawrence, in a cour- " teous letter, of the sending of the detachment, and he coun- " seled obedience to the laws."

The pro-slavery leaders were most earnestly planning and hoping to bring about a collision between the Free State men and the United States soldiers. They hoped for it now, but were disappointed. The Free State men were under the leadership of patriotic and patient men, who wisely counseled and guarded them against making such a fatal mistake.

On April 23d there were arrested several respectable citizens of Lawrence, without resistance, on the specious charge of "contempt of court," and they were held as prisoners in a tent under the charge of the soldiers constituting the sheriff's posse. The sheriff had a new warrant for the arrest of Wood, now charged with larceny of the revolver. He saw them approaching his house, and he went out of a side door and walked to the Johnson House on the next street west, where from an upper window he saw the soldiers drawn up in line in front of his house, and saw Jones enter to make a thorough search for him within. The day waned, and the sheriff, hoping to find Mr. Wood later, tarried for the night in the camp of Lieutenant McIntosh.

The grouping of the following events is worthy of attention if considered even in no other way than the frequent attempt to charge upon Mr. Wood all irregularities that militated against the public peace.

Late in the evening Sheriff Jones was fired upon from the darkness without, and the third shot took effect between his shoulders, and he was laid low. He was immediately carried

to good quarters at the Free State Hotel, carefully attended by the citizens and by his particular friend, Dr. John H. Stringfellow. The citizens were prompt in their efforts to alleviate the sufferings of Sheriff Jones and preserve his life. A public meeting was called, at which the outrage was condemned. Dr. Charles Robinson, ex-Governor Reeder, and other leading Free State citizens denounced the act, and George W. Deitzler, secretary of the Committee of Safety of Lawrence, in behalf of the committee, offered a reward of \$500 for the apprehension of the would-be assassin. On the disabling of Sheriff Jones the warrants in his hands were turned over to one Samuel Salters.

At this time the Congressional Investigating Committee, consisting of Wm. A. Howard of Michigan, John Sherman of Ohio, and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri, were at Lawrence, pursuing their investigations, and the "Law and Order" party, as the border ruffians styled themselves, sought to prejudice their work.

Col. Summer came to Lecompton with troops after the shooting of Jones, but he soon returned to Fort Leavenworth, leaving but a small detachment at Lecompton.

Deputy Sheriff Salters, assisted by a South Carolina deputy and a posse of U. S. soldiers, who obeyed mechanically, continued to hunt and harass Free State men, who eluded them as best they could. To be arrested was to be taken to Lecompton and imprisoned, perhaps murdered; or to sanction the bogus Government by giving bail. To resist arrest was to gratify the enemy by resisting the authority of the United States, as embodied in the troops detailed as a posse in obedience to the orders of President Pierce. The only course open to them was to seek safety in seclusion.

They were hunted like wolves; some of them so closely watched that they dared not visit their homes even at night, but remained hidden in ravines and thickets of underbrush.

The Slave State men pretended to believe that S. N. Wood was the person who was guilty of attempting to kill Sheriff Jones, and made it a pretext for hunting him more vindictively and persistently than ever; and he had some narrow escapes. At one time he and Sam F. Tappan were at a

farm house near the Lecompton road, and they saw their enemies passing within a few feet of them.

Mr. Wood owned a large black pony, an intelligent, strong, and fleet animal, that seemed to instinctively perceive the dangers that threatened his master. When mounted upon "Border Ruffian" he felt comparatively safe, though not daring to remain at his home.

One morning he watched from a hillside west of Lawrence until Salters and the soldiers had left town; then he rode swiftly to the hotel and gave his testimony to the "Congressional Investigating Committee." A party, armed with authority from the bogus sheriff, was watching and preparing to arrest him. When he had finished his testimony, he passed through the dining-room, and out at a back door, where a friend had just brought his horse. In a moment he was in the saddle, and splendid "Border Ruffian" soon bore him away from his enemies.

Late in the day he came by a circuitous route to his own home, nearly a mile west of the town. He fastened the bridle to the door-knob, threw himself upon a lounge, and was soon sound asleep. Exposure and constant watching had exhausted the strong, energetic young man almost to the point of indifference. Waking suddenly, he looked out and saw Salters and the soldiers within gunshot of the house. In a moment he was in the saddle, and with the house between him and the foe, his noble horse seeming to understand the situation, without urging, soon outdistanced his pursuers.

That same night he attempted to return, and when near home he stopped and listened. A horseman was approaching the house, and he heard voices in a ravine near him, engaged in a low, muffled conversation. He quietly rode away, and went to the house of Governor Robinson, a mile distant, and in the edge of Lawrence. In Mrs. Robinson's "Kansas; its Interior and Exterior Life," published in 1856, she says, on page 205:

"The night was dark and very wet. Hearing the door "open softly, I went down again, and so perfect was the disguise of this familiar friend that, without recognizing him, "I said, 'Good-evening,' and was only sure of his identity, "though I took the extended hand, when he said, 'You don't

" know me?" The life of this friend would not have been one
" moment safe had he fallen into the hands of the foe. They
" swore vengeance upon him hourly; and it was decided that as
" his life was precious, not only to his family and friends, but
" to the Free State cause, he risked too much by remaining
" here, and he must leave.

" He had many narrow escapes. At one time riding
" near a house and dismounting, he taking a foot-path into
" a ravine close by, while a friend near mounted and put spurs
" to his horse and outstripped the enemy, and effectually mis-
" led them."

The narrative is thus continued in the language of Mr. Wood:

" My wife was sent for, and it was determined that I
" should leave the Territory. I had desired to submit to ar-
" rest, but this the people of Lawrence would not consent to;
" and I could not live in such constant exposure and watch-
" fulness. In an hour afterward, a midnight supper was
" eaten, and with my faithful horse I started for the Wakarusa,
" so as to give Lecompton a wide berth.

" The next day I reached the house of Abe Burnett, a
" Pottawatomie Indian, five miles above Topeka. From
" Burnett's I crossed the river at the Topeka ferry, kept at the
" time by an Indian, and struck north. It was raining con-
" stantly, and the streams were very high. At one place I
" rode into a branch and went in over my head, horse and all.

" The shooting of Jones had incensed Missouri, and
" thousands were hastening to Lawrence and Lecompton.
" Near the Stranger I met a company of South Carolinians
" going to Lecompton to help hang Lane, Robinson, Wood,
" etc. I bid them God speed and rode on. I finally reached
" the Missouri River at Iowa Point, and crossed over to Ore-
" gon, Missouri; stopped at a hotel for dinner and horse
" feed, and went to bed exhausted and sick.

" I had registered my real name and residence, and as I
" frequently heard it spoken around me, I experienced no lit-
" tle uneasiness. The *Missouri Republican* came out with a
" column devoted to me, charging that I had shot Jones; but
" no one seemed to connect me with the S. N. Wood of
" Lawrence.

" In the conversations I heard around me I learned of the
" 'Highland settlement' in Kansas; and as soon as I felt able
" to ride I re-crossed the river and found myself among friends.
" Here I remained until restored to health. Hearing of my
" illness, my wife visited me, riding on horseback across the
" country from Lawrence, a distance of over one hundred
" miles."

Mr. Wood went into Iowa, and at Iowa City made a speech in the State-house, during which time S. C. Pomeroy and W. Y. Roberts of Kansas came in, and both addressed the meeting. From Iowa he went to Ohio.

A large majority of the Free State men were careful and anxious to avoid a conflict with the Federal authorities; while others regarded the Government as so closely allied with slavery that in order to fight one it was necessary to fight both. They were enthusiastic and sincere, but more brave than discreet. They abhorred slavery and almost hated the Government that was dominated by it for the time John Brown was one of these, and men have honestly differed in their estimation of the value of his work for freedom in Kansas. His hatred of slavery impelled him to aggressive action, and he was sacrificed in an earnest attempt to make way for liberty.

S. N. Wood and others pursued the line of conduct indicated in Whittier's admonition :

"Though the flag with stars bedecked
Threatens where it should protect,
And the law shakes hands with crime,
What is left you but to wait,
Match your patience to your fate,
And abide the better time?"

And this faithful work and patient waiting was crowned by a glorious victory ; one which prepared the way for that other victory which was followed by peace at Appomattox, and, let us hope, will finally result in a complete reunion of the long-estranged North and South.

Recognizing the influence of a higher power in human affairs, we can only think that each one did his own appointed work, and may say of each, "The tides of God's great purposes within thee flow."

That S. N. Wood's practical turn of mind was not in sympathy with John Brown's methods will be seen by the following letter, taken from the "History of the Kansas Conflict." Governor Robinson prefaces the letter with this remark concerning his friend :

"S. N. Wood one of the Branson rescuers, and a man who
" has no superior in a mental or physical encounter, thus writes,
" in 1884, of John Brown :

"I now give it as my deliberate judgment that John
" Brown never did any good in Kansas; that we would have

" been better off if he had never come to the State. His object was war, not peace. It was his constant aim to produce a collision between the Free State men and the Government, which would have wiped us out in Kansas as effectually as he and his little band were wiped out in Virginia. The truth is, Brown never had the confidence of the Free State men of Kansas, and no sensible man dared follow his lead. * * *

" By this wanton murder on the Pottawatomie the Free State men of Kansas suffered terribly.

" There cannot be any question to a man who knew Brown as I did, that he was crazy, or rather, had that religious delusion that he was another Gideon, or rather, a chosen instrument in the hands of God to accomplish a great work. He died as the fool dieth, and for one I was willing to let his soul go marching on. But to have him thrust down this generation as ever being of any benefit to Kansas is an insult to the men who made Kansas free.

" Yours truly,

S. N. WOOD."

CHAPTER VI.

Indicted for Treason.—Delegate to the National Republican Convention.—Earnest Work in the Frémont Campaign.—Lecompton Constitution.

Up to May 1, 1856, all efforts to break up the investigations of the Congressional Committee or to bring the Free State men into collision with the United States forces had signally failed; and hence, new tactics by the "Law and Order" force would be in order.

Under the Topeka Constitution, framed in October, 1855, State officers, with Charles Robinson as Governor, had been elected; also a State legislature, which had met in March, 1856, and adjourned to meet on July 4th. This was an honest and earnest effort of the people of Kansas, in harmony with the only just interpretation of the principle of "Squatter Sovereignty," to throw off the government of the usurpers and regain the rights of citizenship.

The Administration and its Territorial appointees met this honest attempt at self-government with bitter hostility. They renewed their persecutions and redoubled their efforts to crush and drive out the heroic men who had gone to the front "to make way for liberty," to so prepare the way that the westward march of empire might prove to be the onward march of humanity to a diviner civilization.

Col. H. L. Moore, of Lawrence, in a communication concerning ex-Governor Robinson's "History of the Kansas Conflict," thus describes the situation of the Free State men at that time:

"It was expected that the general Government and its appointees in the Territories would aid in every possible way in the establishment of slavery in Kansas. Just over the line in Missouri was an overwhelming horde of border ruffians, ready at any moment to pour over into Kansas to commit any outrage that the interest of their cause demanded. They voted at the election, sacked the towns, and murdered

" Free State settlers. The forts were garrisoned by United States troops that could and would be used at a moment's notice to suppress and punish any resistance on the part of the Free State settlers to the constituted authorities.

" These were some of the difficulties which beset that de-voted band in their efforts to secure Kansas to freedom."

O ye who now dwell in peaceful Kansas homes, do you ever dream of the fiery trials and difficulties through which the old Free State men bore our State to her place among the stars? If so, you will reverence the few still living and tenderly cherish the memories of the dead.

The United States District Court was held early in May, 1856, at Lecompton; Chief-Judge Samuel D. Lecompte was the presiding judge.

The grand jury of Douglas County, before entering upon its duties, was strongly charged by the judge to find bills of indictment for treason against certain prominent Free State men of the county.

Here is some interesting matter from this remarkable charge:

" GENTLEMEN: You are assembled to consider whatever infringements of law may come under your notice, and bring in such bills as your judgment dictates against those whom you may find to have been guilty of such infringement.

" Your attention will naturally be turned towards an unlawful and before unheard-of organization that has been formed in our midst, for the purpose of resisting the laws of the United States. The existing state of affairs makes it important that you should deliberate calmly, and above all, *have respect to the oaths you have taken*, and without fear or favor of any party of men, whether high or low, to mete out to all the justice which is their due.

" You will take into consideration the cases of men who are dubbed governors, who are dubbed lieutenant-governors, men who are dubbed secretaries and treasurers, and men who are dubbed all the various other *dubs* with which this Territory is filling.

" This Territory was organized by an act of Congress, and so far its authority is from the United States. It has a legislature elected in pursuance of that organic act. This legislature, being an instrument of Congress, by which it governs the Territory, has passed laws. These laws, therefore, are of United States authority and making, and all who

" resist these laws resist the power and authority of the United States, and are therefore guilty of *high treason*.

" Now, gentlemen, if you find that any person has resisted these laws, then you must, under your oaths, find bills against them for *high treason*. If you find that no such resistance has been made, but that combinations have been formed for the purpose of resisting them, and individuals of notoriety have been aiding and abetting in such combinations, then you must find bills for *constructive treason*."

Andrew H. Reeder, Charles Robinson, Samuel N. Wood, George W. Deitzler, James H. Lane, George W. Brown, Gaius Jenkins, and George W. Smith were accordingly indicted for treason

In "The Kansas Conflict" Gov. Robinson says:

" The plan was well laid. As treason was supposed not to be a bailable offense, an indictment would enable them to place in confinement all such persons as were not wanted to run at large. Accordingly, Reeder, Deitzler, G. W. Brown, G. W. Smith, Gaius Jenkins, and Robinson were indicted, and all but Reeder (who escaped in disguise) shut up or confined on the prairie. Lane and S. N. Wood were also indicted, but not arrested.

" As the plan was to bring the Free State men in conflict with 'Uncle Sam's boys,' and as Wood had led the rescue of Branson, and Lane, and John Brown, and tried to lead an attack upon the Governor's militia, they were supposed to be of more use running at large than in confinement. All the men arrested, except perhaps Robinson, were cool, sagacious and conservative, and could not be driven to take a false position. The same is true of S. N. Wood, though the Slave State men did not know that fact. But before any indictments were found, the Free State men were put in possession of the purposes of their opponents, and hence were not taken unawares. James F. Legate, one of the grand jury, met Howard and Sherman of the Congressional Committee and Reeder and Robinson at or near Tecumseh, and divulged the plan as foreshadowed in the grand jury room."

Gov. Robinson's exception of himself will never be endorsed by those who knew the value of his services to the Free State cause.

Dr. George W. Brown, writing from Rockford, Illinois, on January 13, 1889, said:

" I believe on the 2d of June, 1856, I saw the original indictment. The name of Samuel C. Pomeroy was erased, and 'Gaius Jenkins' was written in another hand above the

"erased name. I always supposed that Pomeroy's services "in delivering over the cannon released him from arrest."

James H. Lane had gone to Indiana. Ex-Governor A. H. Reeder managed to reach Kansas City, where he was secreted for a time by friends, then disguising himself as a wood-chopper, was rowed in a skiff down to Liberty landing, where he took passage on the lower deck of a steamboat for St. Louis. The others were arrested, held and guarded for four months near Lecompton by United States troops, and finally released on bail.

Samuel N. Wood had gone, as related, through Iowa to Ohio. He and Reeder met in Columbus, where they addressed a large mass meeting. At the close of Governor Reeder's address, Governor Chase requested Mr. Wood to read a letter which he had just received from his wife in Kansas. This letter was written upon her arrival at Lawrence after the long horseback trip to visit her husband when he lay sick in the "Highland settlement" in northeastern Kansas.

It gave a graphic description of the gloomy situation in the Territory. Two more Free State men—mere boys—had been wantonly murdered. The various companies of Southerners, encamped at different points, and supplied by the Territorial authorities with U. S. arms, had unitedly marched, eight hundred strong, upon Lawrence, pillaged and burned the Free State Hotel, stores, and many dwelling-houses. As their trusted leaders were some of them far away, and others in prison, no resistance was made by the unarmed and unorganized citizens, and Pomeroy had been compelled to bring out and deliver up the cannon.

This letter from Mrs. Wood was published in all the Republican papers, and was all the more valuable as a campaign document because it had not been intended by the writer for publication. Mrs. Wood expressed the fear in this letter that if it became known that he was in Ohio, Governor Shannon might make a requisition for him on the Governor of Ohio. Miss Kate Chase—afterwards Mrs. Sprague—reminded Mr. Wood that her father was Governor of Ohio, and a requisition for him, under the circumstances, would be harmless. At Columbus Mr. Wood received notice from Kansas that he had been elected as delegate to the Republican National Conven-

tion in Philadelphia, which he attended, and tried to nominate Salmon P. Chase, his old friend, for President.

The Republicans of the nation who met at Independence Hall in Philadelphia on June 17, 1856, in national convention, resolved that they were opposed to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and they particularly resolved:

"That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State "of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once "the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, "and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory."

The four most prominent Kansans in that convention were Charles H. Branscomb, Martin F. Conway, Samuel C. Pomeroy, and Samuel N. Wood. Messrs. Branscomb, Pomeroy, and Wood departed this life in 1891, Branscomb having died in Colorado, and Pomeroy in Massachusetts.

Connecticut, in that convention, had Alfred A. Burnham and Chauncey F. Cleveland, who had been representatives in Congress, and the latter Governor of the State; and Gideon Welles, who was eight years Secretary of the Navy. Illinois had Abraham Lincoln, also Owen Lovejoy and John M. Palmer, now United States senator. Indiana furnished the president of the convention, Henry S. Lane, who became United States senator. Maine had James G. Blaine, A. C. Morrell, and Mark H. Dunnell, the last named gentleman so many years a representative in Congress from Minnesota. Massachusetts had Charles F. Adams, Charles Allen, John B. Alley, E. R. Hoar, Charles Hudson, Marcus Morton, and Amasa Walker, who have had a national fame. Michigan had I. P. Christiancy; Minnesota, Alexander Ramsey; and New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio had hosts of distinguished statesmen as delegates to the convention.

John C. Frémont and William L. Dayton were nominated as the Republican candidates for President and Vice-president, and the cry of "Sectionalism" was raised against them. Millard Fillmore, the last Whig President, said: "The South will not submit for a moment to the election of Frémont and Dayton." Hon. Robert Toombs, United States senator from

the then Empire State of the South, Georgia, said: "Our danger is not from abroad; it is at home. The election of Frémont would be the end of the Union, and it ought to be."

The *Richmond Enquirer* had the following:

"If Frémont is elected, the Union will not last an hour after President Pierce's term expires. If Frémont is elected, "it will be the duty of the South to dissolve the Union, and "form a Southern Confederacy. Let the South present a "compact and undivided front. Let her, if possible, detach "Pennsylvania and Ohio, Southern Indiana and Southern "Illinois from the North, and make the highlands between the "Ohio and the lakes the dividing line. Let the South treat "with California, and, if necessary, ally herself with Russia, "with Cuba, and with Brazil."

It was on July 4, 1856, that the legislature chosen under the Topeka Constitution met in Topeka and was dispersed by United States troops, under command of Col. Sumner. This outrageous interference of military power with the sovereign powers of a State aroused the North more than ever to a realization of the injustice which the Administration, at the bidding of the slave power, was inflicting upon Kansas.

Mr. Wood's family joined him in Ohio, and he spent the entire summer and fall in Ohio and Indiana in the Frémont campaign. He was everywhere greeted by large and enthusiastic throngs of people who listened with rapt attention to the story of the Kansas conflict, the relation of the Federal Government thereto, and to his portrayal of the effect of the triumph or defeat of the Free State cause upon the rights and liberties of American citizens. He traveled swiftly from one appointment to another, sometimes addressing three meetings in one day. Never did any man throw his whole soul into any work with more earnest and unselfish heroism than did S. N. Wood engage in the Frémont campaign of 1856. The Republican party was at that time a party of principle and had a glorious mission to fulfill, and Mr. Wood believed that our salvation as a State depended upon the triumph of that party in the election of Frémont. With a majority of Free State men, he was hoping against hope for a release of the Federal Government from the domination of the slave power. Buchanan's election meant four more long years of toil and trial; of conflict and danger; of watching and waiting. After the presidential campaign he

attempted to return to Kansas through Iowa, but an unusually heavy fall of snow compelled him to return to Ohio; where sickness in his family detained him until the following spring, when he returned with his family to Kansas.

The years of 1856 and 1857 were the crucial ones in the slavery conflict in Kansas. During these years, Wilson Shannon, John W. Geary, and Robert J. Walker had a varied history as Territorial governors. Shannon resigned. Geary resigned, and on the same night fled from the Territory to save his life. Walker finally resigned. All three had failed to satisfy the unlawful demands of the Slave State party.

The leading Republicans of Ohio had advised Mr. Wood to urge the people of Kansas to get possession of the Territorial legislature and abandon their seeming hostility to the Government. A sentiment in this direction was beginning to grow in Kansas, and Mr. Wood united heart and soul with this element. The Free State men were in a large majority. During the summer of 1857 Mr. Wood advocated that policy; others regarded it as a concession to the enemy and a surrender of the work of two years, and appealed to the people to stand by the "blood-stained banner of the Topeka Constitution."

On August 26, 1857, a mass and delegate convention was held at what is now Valley Falls, for the purpose of deciding whether the Free State voters should participate in the election for a Territorial delegate and a Territorial legislature, on October 5, 1857. It was determined that the Free State men should participate and take their chances in defeating their opponents at the ballot-boxes at that Territorial election. The delegate convention at the same time and place nominated Marcus J. Parrott for delegate to Congress.

Lecompton Township, the stronghold of the Slave State party, included West Lawrence, with some thirty voters. Mr. Wood lived on the hill near and west of Lawrence, and was one of the committee appointed to conduct the campaign in that township. The people were either pro-slavery or Free State. No public meetings were held, but very quietly every voter was seen. At one o'clock A. M. on October 5th, the Unitarian church bell awakened the West Lawrence voters, and in half an hour all were on the California road *en route* to Lecompton, and runners were calling at every house along the

Kansas and Wakarusa river bottoms. Daylight found over one hundred men near Lecompton, where they were soon joined by fifty more from Big Springs, and soon after sunrise they entered Lecompton and surrounded the polls. In the house was A. P. Walker, a pro-slavery candidate for the legislature, still in bed ; and being asked why he did not get up, he replied, "I won't get up until I am elected to the legislature." S. N. Wood informed him that it would be the longest sleep of his life. Nine and half past nine o'clock came, and the pro-slavery judges did not appear.

The Kansas people had become desperate. On that election day their homes, liberties, and lives were at stake; and if warnings, emphasized by threats, had gone out from their secret councils, who can blame them? The sheriff informed them that they must elect judges. Dr. John Day and S. J. Willis, both from West Lawrence, were chosen, and one pro-slavery man, as a harmless concession to the enemy. Clerks were appointed, a line formed, and the slow process of voting *viva voce* was continued through the day.

The law provided that if at six o'clock there were more at the polls who desired to vote, the judges should adjourn over to the next day. Six o'clock was approaching ; the Free State men had all voted, and but few pro-slavery votes had been polled ; the pro-slavery men planning to make a rush for the polls at six, and compel the judges to adjourn over. At fifteen minutes before six a dog-fight, with loud yells and shooting of pistols, took place up-town. Six o'clock found S. N. Wood alone at the polls with the judges, and the election was adjourned *sine die*. The dog-fight was a grand success.

S. N. Wood was elected justice of the peace in Lecompton Township. In the Territory, Marcus J. Parrott was elected delegate to Congress, over ex-Governor Ransom of Michigan, by 4,090 majority. The Council stood: nine Free State, four Slave State. It was a complete triumph for the Free State men ; and from that time forward Border Ruffian rule proper had come to an end in Kansas Territory. On October 31st S. N. Wood held the first court as justice of the peace that was ever held in Lawrence. The Buchanan administration had advised the construction and adoption of the Lecompton Constitution. The convention that framed and adopted it

represented less than one-fifth of the legal voters of Kansas. It was essentially pro-slavery; and by its authors but one proposition was submitted to a vote of the people on December 21, 1857. We could not vote against the constitution itself; the form prescribed being, "For the constitution *with* slavery," and, "For the constitution *without* slavery." It secured the right to slave property in the State, and could not be amended until 1864. The vote stood: "Constitution with slavery," 6,226 (3,000 of which were illegal); "Constitution with no slavery," 569. The Free State men had scornfully refused to vote.

Quoting from Mr. Wood's "Historical" address:

"All legislative power had hitherto been in the hands of
"a non-resident mob, and now this monster iniquity was be-
"ing forced upon our State by United States troops. To meet
"this, secret societies were formed, rifle clubs organized, iron-
"clad oaths were taken, and be not startled when I state, as
"one of the actors of the time, that the Lecompton Constitu-
"tion could never have been inaugurated in Kansas. To pre-
"vent it every one connected with it would have been slain.
"In fact, it required all the diplomacy of the time to save the
"convention from this fate; but prudent counsels prevailed.

"The Free State men were not idle. Governor Walker
"had gone to Washington, had an open rupture with Buch-
"anan, and finally resigned. Acting-Governor Stanton, in
"obedience to the popular will, issued his proclamation con-
"vening the Territorial Legislature on the 7th of December.
"This Free State body promptly repealed the act creating the
"Lecompton Constitutional Convention, and protested against
"the admission of Kansas under it. It also provided for sub-
"mitting the Lecompton Constitution to a vote of the people
"on the 4th day of January, 1858, and adjourned. For con-
"vening this legislature Stanton was removed, and James W.
"Denver appointed in his place.

"A delegate convention held in Lawrence on December
"2, 1857, had denounced the election which was to be held
"on January 4, 1858, as a crime and misdemeanor against the
"peace of the Territory and the will of the majority, and ad-
"journed to the 23d, at which time the vote on participation
"stood, by delegates, 45 for, 44 against; but by districts, 64
"for, 75 against. Thus this convention refused to contest
"the election of State officers. I thought at the time, and
"still think, it was a great mistake.

"It was now the 23d day of December and the election was
"to be held on January 4th; only twelve days for a canvass.

" A large Territorial convention had decided not to vote. We
" met in the basement of the *Herald of Freedom* office,
" George W. Brown's cellar kitchen, on the evening of Decem-
" ber 23, 1857. We pledged the Free State candidates on the
" State ticket not to qualify if elected. A State committee
" was appointed, of which I had the honor to be chairman.
" We published a short address announcing the ticket, and
" urged the Free State men to vote and to nominate and elect
" local tickets. Runners were sent to every precinct in the
" north part of the Territory. We said, 'The center and the
" south are all awake, and we are going to win and control
" whatever looks like a government in Kansas.' To the center
" we told what the north and south were doing; in the south
" it was what the north and center. Never was an election so
" hotly contested. We had not only the Slave State ticket to
" beat, but the opposition in our own ranks, and we were poor;
" Thomas Ewing, Jr., putting \$100 in the canvass was about all
" the money we had. We elected our State ticket by over 300
" majority. The vote against the Lecompton Constitution was
" 10,226; while George W. Smith, Free State candidate for
" Governor, had 6,875 votes, showing that 3,351 Free State
" men did not vote the Free State ticket.

" With the control of the Lecompton State organization
" in our hands, there was but little left for the pro-slavery
" party. But President Buchanan submitted the Lecompton
" Constitution to Congress and recommended its acceptance,
" and bitterly denounced the Free State movement.

" It was found that while the Senate was in favor of the
" Lecompton Constitution, the House, by 8 majority, opposed
" it. The English Bill was passed by a vote of 112 to 103 in
" the House, and in the Senate by 31 to 22. This bill pro-
" vided for the admission of Kansas upon the condition that
" the constitution be ratified at a fair and full election by the
" people, and the President was to issue his proclamation de-
" claring it a State. It also provided that if the Lecompton
" Constitution were accepted by the people, Sections 16 and 36
" of the public lands should be given for schools, 72 sections
" for a State university, 10 for public buildings—in all, 5,500,000
" acres. We were to have all salt springs, not exceeding
" twelve, with six sections of land each.

" This was the first attempt to bribe the Free State voters
" of Kansas. From the standpoint of a Democratic Congress,
" it was not dreamed that this tempting offer could be refused,
" as we were told we could so soon (1864) change the consti-
" tution and wipe out slavery in Kansas if we did not want it.
" In order to conciliate Free State men, they stooped to con-
" quer. Pro-slavery men were removed from office, and Free
" State Democrats appointed in their places. Every resource

" of the general Government was applied to force the Lecompton Constitution upon Kansas.

" The third election on the Lecompton Constitution, provided for in the English Bill, took place on August 2, 1858. It was rejected by a large majority, the vote standing 11,300 against it, with all its loud promises, and only 1,788 for it; and thus ended the Lecompton Constitution.

" Permit me to say that the Administration had resolved " upon our admission under that constitution, and used all the " powers of the Government to force it upon us, but failed, " just as the central government will always fail when it tries " to force an odious government upon a free people."

Mr. Wood gives the following as something behind the scenes:

" To show how the Administration took this final defeat " to heart, let me relate an incident: In 1860, during our " drouth, and in the last year of Buchanan's administration, " the lands in Chase and other counties were offered for sale. " We had raised no corn or wheat; in fact, desolation was " everywhere; and now we must prove up and pay for our " lands before the day set for sale, or lose them. At the " instance of the people of Chase County, I went to Washington and called on the President and stated our condition, " and was coolly informed by him that the fault was our own; " had we adopted the Lecompton Constitution, our lands " would not have been sold; it would have solved the problem. " I avoided an argument and admitted what he said, but asked " if the whole people must suffer. He informed me that the " vote against the Lecompton Constitution was almost unanimous—about ten to one. I urged that we had raised " nothing; must beg or starve, and now to let our lands go into " the hands of speculators or hire money at 50 per cent would " more than ruin us. I urged that it was so easy to save us " by postponing this sale. He finally referred me to Hon. " Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior. I went directly " to him, stated our case, and asked him to cancel the order " and postpone the sale. He said at first that I must see the " President. I told him I had seen the President; he was " willing to postpone it, and he had referred me to him. Appearing angry, he said: 'The way the people of Kansas " have acted, they don't deserve any favors from the Government,' and bowed me out.

" I got even with him, however. While at Helena, Arkansas, during the war, Gen. Curtis placed a steamboat " under my charge, and ordered me to cross with my battalion " into Mississippi, and scout the country from Austin, twelve " miles above, to a point some distance below. A few miles

" below Helena I came to the plantation of Hon. Jacob Thompson. I remembered our last meeting, and offered freedom to his negroes; sent them across the river to Helena, and confiscated his mules, bacon, and corn. We left nothing but the buildings, which a week later were burned by some soldiers who crossed the river in a skiff.

" Afterwards, when Hon. John S. Phelps was military governor of Arkansas, Thompson obtained military protection and came to see him about his property. I at once called on Governor Phelps, told him what I had done; related my Washington interview with Thompson, and told him to give him my compliments, and say to him, 'The way the people of Mississippi have been acting, they deserve no favors from the Government.'

" The Legislature of 1859 repealed the entire code of bogus laws. The Free State men had the undisputed control of the Territory. There was but one thing more to be done in Kansas to make our triumph complete. That was a law prohibiting slavery in Kansas. The House Journal of 1860, page 50, shows that Mr. Wood introduced House Bill No. 6, entitled "An act to prohibit slavery or involuntary servitude in Kansas." These are the sections of the bill:

" SECTION 1. That slavery or involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, is and shall be forever prohibited in this Territory.

" SEC. 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.'

" Simple as it was, it threw a bomb shell into the Democratic camp. Several Republican caucuses were held over it; some wanted penalties, but it passed both branches of the Legislature just as above introduced. Governor Medary sent in a long veto message on it, on February 20, 1860. He took the extraordinary position that neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislature had any power to prohibit slavery in the Territories; and upon that very question the Democratic party that same year was rent in twain, and Abraham Lincoln was elected President, and the fight became general, not local. That bill passed without discussion over the veto.

" What a history! When the institutions of freedom and slavery were invited to mortal combat on the plains of Kansas, we had in the United States 4,000,000 of slaves, valued at \$2,000,000,000. In ten years afterwards Secretary Seward issued his proclamation declaring the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment by the requisite number of States, declaring slavery to be abolished in the United States.

" Was such a revolution ever known before?

"We are to have a government based upon reason and a
"higher intelligence. It is to be strong because the people
"love it; not from hate or fear. Reason will take the place of
"force ; intelligence of ignorance ; love of fear. We recognize
"one universal brotherhood. May we be true to our better
"natures ; may we be able to say, 'We have fought the good
"fight; we have kept the faith ; and we will now wait and see
"the salvation of the Lord and the triumph of a better policy.' "



CHAPTER VII.

NEWSPAPER AND LEGISLATIVE WORK.—IN THE ARMY.—IN WAR AND IN PEACE.

The Territorial Legislature of 1858, on February 10th, passed a bill for a constitutional convention, which was held in Leavenworth, having adjourned from Minneola on the 24th of March. The election for delegates to this convention had been held on March 9, 1858, and Mr. Wood was elected a delegate to the same from Douglas County. In this convention were men who attained to prominence and distinction in later years: Thomas Ewing, Jr., Martin F. Conway, James H. Lane, W. Y. Roberts, P. B. Plumb, F. G. Adams, Robert B. Mitchell, J. S. Emery, C. H. Branscomb, and others.

On May 30, 1859, Mr. Wood commenced the publication of the *Kansas Press*, at Cottonwood Falls, Chase County; and on June 7, as a candidate for delegate to the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention of July 5, 1859, he lacked twenty-seven votes of having as many as were received by J. M. Winchell, who became the president of the convention.

W. F. M. Arny, J. D. Brumbaugh, Thomas Ewing, Jr., Josiah Kellogg, Alfred L. Lee, J. R. McClure, M. J. Parrott, and George A. Reynolds were also defeated candidates for delegates to the Wyandotte Convention.

The *Press* was removed to Council Grove in October, 1859, and at the election on November 8th of that year Mr. Wood was elected to the Territorial House of 1860, as a representative of the counties of Chase, Marion, and Morris, and was the chairman of the Judiciary and of the Federal Relations Committees.

On December 6, 1859, he was elected a member of the first State Senate. His district then embraced the counties of Chase and Morris.

On January 5, 1860, he offered the following resolutions:

“Resolved, 1st. That we regard the institution of slavery “as a local institution, existing only by virtue of State laws, “with which we, as a nation, have nothing to do.”

"Resolved, 2nd. That the Constitution of the United States does not carry slavery anywhere, but leaves the people of the different States perfectly free to regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

"Resolved, 3rd. That we deny the right of Congress or the Supreme Court to force slavery upon Kansas contrary to the wishes of the people of this Territory.

"Resolved, 4th. That we deem it against the interests of the people of Kansas to encourage the settlement of negroes in this Territory.

"Resolved, 5th. That we urge upon the United States Government the propriety of securing by treaty or purchase a location in some of the South American States for the settlement of the negroes of the United States, with a view to the entire separation of the two races."

It may be remarked here, that this solution of the race problem was a cherished one of Abraham Lincoln, and many other eminent men of that time; and it is yet to be determined whether a distinct and separate race of men can reach its highest development and destiny as an independent and self-sustained nation, or simply as an adjunct of another distinct and separate race.

On January 21, 1860, S. N. Wood introduced House Bill No. 6, entitled "An act to prohibit slavery or involuntary servitude in Kansas," and it was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, of which he was chairman. It is in these words:

"SECTION 1. That slavery or involuntary servitude except for the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, is and shall be forever prohibited in this Territory.

"SEC. 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage."

On February 2d it passed the House by a vote of 30 to 6. On February 11th the Council passed it by a vote of 9 to 4. This bill called out a veto message from Governor Medary of fifteen pages in length; and on February 21st it was passed over his veto by a vote of 30 to 7 in the House, and 9 to 4 in the Council.

Thus, by the hand of S. N. Wood, was the seal of liberty placed upon Kansas ere she was led to her throne in the Union and crowned with a star. There let it remain forever. Defend it, brave hearts and strong hands of free men! Guard

it well, O coming generations! And when the approaching conflict is over; when the smoking guns again become cooled;

" When the bugles that peal to the crossing of steel "

again soothe the world with the music of peace, may conquering humanity be able to read in the dawning light of the golden age, " Slavery is forever prohibited." But even in that distant and better time no truer devotee to liberty, no braver soldier in her ranks will be found than he who on January 6, 1860, introduced " House Bill No. 6 " into the House of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas.

On November 6, 1860, Mr. Wood was elected to the Territorial House of 1861, which body adjourned on February 2, 1861, Kansas having been admitted as a State on January 29, 1861.

The first State Legislature met Tuesday, March 26, 1861 Mr. Wood took his place in the Senate, and was chairman of the Committee on Judiciary. Before the close of the session he received notice of his appointment, by President Lincoln, as Collector of Customs at Paso del Norte, to supersede S. J. Jones, the "bogus" sheriff of Douglas County, Kansas. Mr. Wood accepted the position, gave the necessary bond, and received his commission. But on April 25th President Lincoln issued the call for 75,000 men to serve three months. The call to arms sounded over all else, and he resigned as Collector of Customs, and, without even returning to his home at the close of the Legislature, raised a company of cavalry—the " Kansas Rangers"—of which he was chosen captain. With his company he was mustered into the service at Lawrence on June 20, 1861, and was attached to the Second Regiment, Kansas Infantry. The following account of the impetuous daring of two Kansas men will be read with interest :

" While at Clinton, Missouri, General Sturgis ordered ten
" of the First Kansas Volunteers, for some trifling offense, to
" be tied to cannon wheels and whipped. The regulars
" were drawn up in a hollow square, the cannons in the center,
" to each wheel of which was strapped a loyal Union soldier,
" stripped to the waist, under the full blaze of the July sun.
" An example was to be made: the word was given and the
" lash descended, cutting deep and gaping wounds in the
" quivering flesh of men who had risked all and taken their
" lives in their hands to fight the common enemy, and pre-
" serve our country from the hands of its would-be destroyers.

" The excitement among the volunteers was intense. Mitchell
" was calm; Deitzler cried; Sam Wood was engaged in keeping
" his men in their ranks; Dr. Patee raved and stormed, and,
" containing himself no longer, rushed into the square, and
" protested in the name of God against the inhuman barbarity.
" Col. Sam Wood seconded his efforts, and demanded that
" every man be set at liberty, or the fifteen hundred bul-
" lets now rammed home in his camp would open on Stur-
" gis's camp, and the men could not be restrained. Already
" the patterning of the leaden messengers began to come in
" from different quarters, in support of the Doctor, who had
" been ordered under arrest. The men were released and
" returned to the guard-house, the cannons ordered to be
" loaded with grape, and were turned upon the camp of vol-
" unteers. The scene waxed hotter. Sam Wood and Dr.
" Patee were threatened to be shot, but the scenes of bloody
" Kansas were too freshin their minds to have them scare
" easily. The volunteers waited for the regulars to commence
" the strife, but the order was not given, and Sturgis never
" attempted to flay another free-born Kansan."

General Sturgis, at the beginning of the war, was at heart a rebel, and he only kept his place in the United States Regular Army from mercenary and not from patriotic motives. He seemed at first to hate the patriotic volunteers, with whose enthusiasm he had no sympathy.

Capt. S. N. Wood, at the head of his cavalry company, fought with bravery and distinction in the hotly contested battle of Wilson's Creek, where the heroic General Nathaniel Lyon, who was a highly valued and warmly attached friend of Capt. Wood, sealed his devotion to his country with his most precious blood. After the war, as a pleasant surprise to him, a portrait of his friend Gen. Nathaniel Lyon was framed and placed upon the wall; when he observed it for the first time he stopped and gazed at it for a moment in silence, and then said, "That is the best man in heaven to-day."

Later he was transferred to a battalion of Missouri troops which he had recruited, serving first as major and afterwards as lieutenant-colonel. For nearly eight months he was stationed at Rolla, Mo., and from this point, with his command was sent on frequent scouting expeditions in Southern Missouri and into Arkansas. They were almost constantly in the saddle, and, traveling swiftly, seemed to be everywhere.

As the time for the assembling of the Kansas Legislature

drew near, Col. Wood's thoughts turned homeward. He proposed to resign and go home to take his place in the State Senate; but the commander of the post, Col. Dodge, said: "No; your resignation will not be accepted. Your services in the army are more important just now than in the Kansas Senate." His colleagues in the Senate, hearing no response to the clerk's call for "Samuel N. Wood," declared the seat vacant.

It was in one of his earlier scouting expeditions in the autumn of 1861 that he ran upon a slave-trader named John Whelan, who had bought some slaves at war prices—very cheap—in St. Louis; and was trying to evade the Union troops by running them through Missouri and Arkansas to a point on the Mississippi, intending to ship them to the cotton plantations of the far South. Three or four women, two little girls, a boy and a baby, five men, a team of stout mules, a wagon with bedding, and a saddle horse for his own use constituted the sum of the goods and chattels of this enterprising gentleman, who expected to sell his human property at a great profit on the investment.

When discovered by Col. Wood and his men he had stopped for the night; and one rather refractory young man, who was afterwards found to be a native of Canada, was chained to a log in a very uncomfortable position. Col. Wood spoke not a word, but galloped to his side, and seizing an axe that lay near, severed the chain by dealing it a few blows that were as forcible as the white heat of anger could make them.

Mr. Whelan attempted to remonstrate, but was told that if he spoke another word his head would be split open. He was also advised to leave, which he did at once.

At that time department commanders were carefully guarding against any and every thing that savored of interference with the time-honored and law-protected institution of human slavery. Orders had been issued forbidding the presence of fugitive slaves within the lines of the United States Army. Consequently Col. Wood could only say to the negroes that he assumed no authority over them, and if they chose to follow his command to Rolla, the road was open to them. On the following morning the slave-trader's team and wagon were

got ready with remarkable promptness, and the slaves, some on foot and others in the wagon, followed close upon the heels of the command until they arrived at Rolla, where homes were found for them, and also work to enable them to earn their own living. They were known as Col. Wood's negroes, and they regarded him as their friend and protector, and he never failed them when they appealed to him, in sickness or trouble of any kind.

One "weakness" of Col. Wood was his inability to witness unmoved the sight of a man or woman whipping a child. One day he found his cook chastising severely her little daughter, and he took the rod from her hand, broke it into fragments, and notified her that he could do all the whipping that was needed in his house; and he significantly added that he would "find some one nearer his own size than little Mary" when he wanted to whip somebody. "Now, you understand it, this whipping has got to be stopped."

Whether the woman understood it or not, the bright little one comprehended the situation very clearly, and always afterwards when he was in camp, upon the first indication of maternal wrath, she would fly to him, screaming, "O Captain, Captain!" and, pressing her little back closely against him and with his arm thrown about her, felt secure enough to defy the world. The mother soon relaxed the severity of her system of family discipline, but she privately asserted as her positive opinion that although Col. Wood was "a mighty good man, he's enough to jes' ruin every chile that comes about him."

"Col. Wood's negroes" enjoyed their freedom without molestation until the following April, when their master appeared in Rolla and attempted to institute legal proceedings for the recovery of his human property. Colonel Wood happened to be there at the time. The negroes had been somehow made aware of Mr. Whelan's presence as soon as he came, and with frightened countenances and pitiful appeals they sought their friend. He told them to keep out of sight and be ready to start for Kansas early in the evening. He then turned his attention to Mr. Whelan and his legal proceedings and baffled and tormented him until the fugitives were well on their way to free Kansas. Some of them made their way to Lawrence and settled there. The young Canadian had previously been

turned over by Colonel Wood to the British consul at St. Louis.

When called upon for an explanation, Colonel Wood made a most respectful reply to the post commander; and it was forwarded to the department commander at Louis. He minutely and frankly related the circumstances of the discovery of the negroes; acknowledged that they had followed his command to Rolla, but added, "As all are considered as property, I am at a loss to decide whether the negroes ran away with the mules or the mules with the negroes." He also stated that in obedience to General Order No. 3 he had put those negroes outside of the lines, and he hoped "that by this time they have got so far outside of the lines of the United States Army that no slave-trader can ever capture them."

In the archives of the State Historical Society are some copies of reports to Col. J. B. Wyman, post commander at Rolla, and also to Col. S. H. Boyd, who was Col. Wyman's successor in command at that place. These reports, now over thirty years old, are in the hurried style of writing which thousands of Kansans will remember, and they describe in detail some of the most perilous and daring expeditions that were undertaken during the war. One of these reports, dated February 26, 1862, relates the particulars of a scout by some 250 men, riding part of the time through cold rain and sleet, and of their return with sixty prisoners, sixty stand of arms, and forty horses, and it closes thus:

"In conclusion, I must bear testimony to the gallantry of
"all the officers and soldiers constituting the command. We
"started with but five days' rations of sugar and coffee, and
"but two of other supplies, depending upon what the country
"afforded, without tents, traveling two hundred and twenty-
"five miles in ten days, sleeping out of doors, half of the com-
"mand constantly on guard; yet officers and soldiers endured
"all without a murmur.

"I have the honor to be, Col., your ob't servant,

"S. N. WOOD,

"Lieut.-Col. Com'dg Wood's Battalion, 6th Mo. Cav."

Lieut.-Col. Wood was finally ordered to Houston, Texas County, Missouri, and charged with the task of keeping the country around clear of rebels. He was to watch the movements of Coleman and McFarland,—rebel colonels,—who were recruiting for the Southern army, and in all his movements to be guided by his own judgment; to report daily, and he was

to be held responsible. It was soon afterward that the battle of Salem was fought, and a large force of Confederates routed by part of Col. Wood's battalion and a detachment of the Third and Fourth Iowa Cavalry regiments.

To the report of this engagement Col. Boyd replied :

" Col. Wood, I highly congratulate you on such a signal victory. I believe you should not fight any more against such great odds. Take care of yourself and of your gallant command. I will send you reinforcements for scouting, etc. " I send to Halleck telegraph accounts.

" I am, Col., yours most truly, S. H. BOYD,
"Col. Com'd'g Rolla."

Col. Wood's vigilance and his faithful services may better be revealed in extracts from his reports to headquarters. The following was written soon after the battle of Salem :

" HEADQ'RS, HOUSTON, Mo., March 19, 1862.

" *Col. S. H. Boyd:*

" DEAR SIR,—Two companies Iowa Cavalry arrived here to-day. Major Drake is at Salem. On Monday I sent forty men to Hartville and Marshfield. I have sent Fourth Iowa Cavalry to Licking. If attacked, we can concentrate all our force here. I am watching the enemy on the south. From best information the slaughter at Salem was great. I anticipate no attack here, though well prepared. I have correct information that General McBride is with Coleman, and they now have 800 men. Their banditti sent towards Rolla have now gone south. If we go down now and clean out the border country, we shall have peace. If left to me, I will order Major Drake to move on Sunday next to West Plains, arriving there Tuesday evening; I moving from here Monday morning, reaching West Plains same evening. Plenty of feed there. We shall then be in striking distance of the enemy, and can be on them early Wednesday morning. Then, if not whipped, go up White River to Forsythe. Let Fourth Iowa report to Springfield, and we return here via Rockbridge. If this blow is struck, and that effectually, it ends secession in this direction. Out of 800 voters in this county, 721 have come in and taken the oath of allegiance.

" I have of my men here, 175; Fourth Iowa, 130; Third Iowa, 150; total, 455.

" Send every man of my battalion that can come. Send ammunition for howitzer.

Under date of March 24th, he wrote to Colonel Boyd :

" I have sent 4th Iowa Cavalry forward as ordered. Major Drake's command is now here. Give yourself no uneasiness about the south. There is a rebel force at Salem of

" 800 to 1,000 men. General McBride is with them. They
" are scouting in this direction, but I will make it too hot for
" them. It is not possible for 20 armed men to get within 50
" miles of Rolla while we are here. You can sleep in peace
" and I guarantee every thing from the south."

The following, sent to the *Missouri Democrat* by a Union man, a resident of Texas County, will be read with interest:

"HOUSTON, TEXAS COUNTY, MO.,

"*Editors Missouri Democrat:* March 31, 1862.

" This county numbered, before the rebellion, some 1,000 " to 1,200 voters. It was the banner secession county in Mis- " souri, giving a larger secession vote according to population " than any other county. When the war broke out almost " everybody went 'secesh,' and some 500, under the lead of Mc- " Bride, joined the rebel army. Everybody seemed to go wild. " Captain (now Lieut.-Col.) Wood, of the Federal army, first " entered this county at Licking, and struck the greatest " terror. But as all peaceable citizens were protected " and respected, and the ten thousand outrages that we " were told would be committed were not committed, some " of the people came to their better sense. Soon after " Colonel Greusel, now acting brigadier under Sigel, of " the Thirty-sixth Illinois, and Captain Wood again vis- " ited this place; but as everybody fled, some even to Arkan- " sas, little good was accomplished; and when the troops " left 'secesh' returned in all their glory. Soon after Capt. " Wood with forty-eight men made a dash into town, caught " a few prisoners, ran over to the north fork of White River, " routed Freeman with four hundred men, returned here, com- " plimented the people a little, gave them to understand what " they might depend upon, and left us again. Again 'secesh' " returned, tore the national emblem from our court-house, " and for days they held complete sway here. About a month " since, Lieut.-Col. Wood, with his battalion and Major " Drake's, of the Third Iowa, came sweeping into town from the " south, from their West Plains expedition. Instantly every " avenue of escape was cut off, and the town completely sur- " rounded. No one was allowed to leave unless well vouched " for, and then only on parole, to attend church next day, Sun- " day. Sunday morning came, and a messenger visited every " house, notifying the people that a live 'secesh' preacher had " been captured, and would preach at the court-house at 10 A. " M., and every man and woman in town must attend or be " arrested. Every one turned out. The court-house was " crowded. Our 'secesh' preacher was much embarrassed, but " took his text from Matthew 5th chapter and 17th verse: " 'Think not I am come to destroy the law and the prophets'

"I have not come to destroy, but to fulfill.' At the close of "the sermon notice was given that Col. Wood would address "the audience at 2 P. M., and again all were ordered to be "present. At the time indicated the court-house was again "filled. Col. Wood began by saying he was no theologian "and did not intend to preach a sermon. But if he were, or "even if he were going to preach a political sermon and apply "it to the present time, and speak for the Union army, he "wanted no better text than that read this morning. 'For,' "said he, 'we have not come to destroy the constitution and "the laws, but to enforce the laws, sustain the constitution, "and protect the people.' He then proceeded for nearly two "hours; told what the Union had done for Missouri, how we "had grown up and prospered and were fast becoming one of "the richest States in the Union. He asserted that the great body of Northern people cared nothing about slavery; they "regarded it as a State institution, and the power not given to "Congress to legislate on the subject; that if it was profitable, "they were willing we should enjoy the profits; if a curse, "wanted us alone cursed with it. As a citizen of Missouri, "he would advocate emancipation as a right of the slave and as "the best policy of the State. He said that by sacrificing "\$25,000,000 slave property, inviting a free immigration, and "let even the 'lop-eared Dutch' plant their vineyards, the price "of real estate would double in one year; that we would be "giving \$25,000,000 of slave property for \$100,000,000 of real "estate; he ridiculed the fears slave-holders entertained of in-vestigating the subject. Up North they let people talk any "thing but *treason*; that if slavery was right, a Bible institu-tion, sanctified by God and angels, and a benefit to the State, "that the more it was talked about the better it would "strengthen the system, and slave-holders ought to court in-vestigation.

"If, on the other hand, slavery will not bear talking "about; if to investigate is to kill it, the quicker it dies the "better—a proposition the Southern Methodist preachers "present admitted on the *spot*. He said there was 'no danger "of error, so long as truth was left to combat it.' He ridi-culed the idea of 'secesh' fighting for Southern rights; said he "had found but two Southern soldiers who could tell what "they were fighting for. One said, 'for fun'; the other, 'to "keep our niggers from being freed.' He supposed they had "had fun enough; and as to the nigger, the ragged, barefooted "men composing the rebel army had none to free; that if they "were fifty cents a dozen, half of them could not buy one at "half-price. Northern people did not feel such horrid fear "about 'negro equality.' They felt a natural superiority over "the negro race, and did not require so much legislation to

" keep above them. The two races never would associate on terms of equality; that give them a chance, and they would separate as oil from water. The rebels might be fighting for " niggers, but he assured them we were fighting for a different purpose. We were fighting to see if we had a government and a country or not; that the South in this war had given the death-blow to slavery—the result of the war might be the abolition of slavery; he hoped it would; but that the rebels could thank themselves for it. They had loaded down the good old ship of state until she had foundered at sea; and if necessary to throw part of the cargo overboard to save the ship, it must be done. The good old ship must be saved at all hazards; or, in other words, said Col. Wood, 'If the Union and slavery cannot both exist, we must stand by the Union. Better to abolish slavery a thousand times than lose the Union.'

" He then drew a vivid picture of the effects of a dismembered government. The audience, most of whom were rebels or rebel sympathizers, opened their eyes not a little. The 'secesh' preacher acknowledged himself a convert; said he thanked God he had been Colonel Wood's prisoner. This preacher has been the instrument of bringing many erring rebels back to the fold of the Union. I need not tell you that men and women left that house with a much better opinion of the Union, and much less prejudice against Northern people. Of sixty prisoners present, all said if they had only understood the subject, they never would have been in the army.

" On the 9th of March Col. Wood returned here, appointed a provost marshal, and asked all who wished protection to come in and subscribe to the oath. Out of a voting population of about 1,000, 964 have been in and taken the oath. I never witnessed such a revolution in my life.

" Col. Wood seems to be just the man for this work; cool, never excited, talking with a dozen at once; says he is never busy; always at leisure; temperate and moral, all respect him; a strict disciplinarian, yet frequently talking with his men, who love him devotedly; fearing nothing, he is just the man for a successful military leader. His recent Arkansas trip is a true type of his daring. No effort can get him into a panic. After our return from Arkansas he sent the Third Iowa back to Salem, also forty of his own men, on an expedition west. Scarcely had they left when his ears were filled with the startling rumor that Coleman, reinforced to 1,000, was coming to take Houston. He listened patiently, and answered by saying there was no harm in being ready, and instead of retreating, went to work and turned the court-house into a fort, barricading every window, filling casks with water, etc.

" Yesterday it was asserted that Coleman and Col. Lind-
 " say were at West Plains, only fifty miles south, with one
 " thousand men and three cannon. 'I am glad of it,' said
 " Wood, in his dry way; 'I have been trying for thirty days
 " to get cannon from St. Louis, but have failed. Hope they
 " will bring them up, and we will have a chance to get them.'
 " Lieut.-Col. Wood is a native of Ohio, and raised a Quaker.
 " Yesterday I heard a preacher ask him what church he
 " belonged to. 'Not any,' was the reply. 'What! are you
 " not a professor?' inquired the minister, with apparent
 " astonishment. 'No,' said Wood; 'my acts speak for them-
 " selves. I make no professions. But why do you ask?'"
 " 'Because I never heard you swear; you never drink liquor
 " —you always do just right.' 'Credit all that to my good old
 " Quaker mother,' said he; 'she raised me that way.' Such is
 " Lieut.-Col. Wood, the notorious leader of the Kansas Rang-
 " ers. He was one of the early settlers of Kansas; went
 " through all the Kansas war, was a member of two Territorial
 " Legislatures, and a member of the State Senate. As mem-
 " ber of the Legislature, he occupied the important position
 " of chairman of the Judiciary Committee. A year ago he
 " was appointed and commissioned by President Lincoln Col-
 " lector of Customs at Paso del Norte, New Mexico—a position
 " worth \$2,500 per annum. But instead, he volunteered in a
 " three-months company; was elected captain; came to Mis-
 " souri; was in the battle of Wilson's Creek, and came back
 " with the army to Rolla. He there recruited a company of
 " Missourians for three years' service. In December received
 " permission from Gen. Halleck to recruit a battalion, and
 " now has five full companies in service. The work he has
 " done in Missouri with his men is known by every one.
 " More anon. TEXAS."

Col. Wood's battalion of the Sixth Missouri Cavalry was composed of Missourians whose homes were in the southwestern part of the State. They knew the enemy, and were familiar with the country through which they were riding as scouts, and often one or two of these men, disguised as citizens, received valuable information. Some of them had relatives in the Southern army. One day when his command was fiercely pursuing a band of fleeing rebels, Col. Wood found one of his men upon his knees, with his arms around a wounded rebel and shedding bitter tears over him. He looked up and said:

"O, Colonel, I never expected to come to this."

"What is the trouble?" asked Col. Wood.

"This is my brother, and I have been shooting at him."

"Well, put him in the wagon and take care of him," said Col. Wood.

The poor fellow recovered from his wounds, to the great relief of his brother, and also of Col. Wood.

After the battle of Pea Ridge, when Gen. Curtis was moving down through Arkansas, Col. Wood joined him at Batesville, and with his command formed the advance guard to the Mississippi. Capt. S. A. Breese, now of Cottonwood Falls, at the head of Company A, Wood's Battalion, Sixth Missouri Cavalry, was the first to enter Helena.

Col. Wood's son, David Wood, who was at the time a boy only eleven years old, but who insisted upon following his father's fortunes in the army, writes as follows:

"CANON CITY, COLORADO, Sept. 21, 1892.

"Yes, I was with the advance of our battalion when they entered Helena; and our command had been the advance guard of Curtis's army from Batesville. It was Company A that led the army into Helena, and I never was behind, you can depend on that. About the only excitement there was about it, though, was the rush we made to get into the town and take it as much by surprise as possible. There was no fighting or firing that I remember, except throwing a shell or two from one of our howitzers over a boat in which some men were crossing the river to escape us, and which caused them to return quickly."

The army remained in camp at this place for several months, but Col. Wood and his command were, as usual, kept busy. They were sent on frequent scouts over the river into Mississippi "to clear the country of rebels"; but these became less frequent, and the inactivity of camp life became unendurable. In the following August he resigned, and with his boy, whose almost fatal illness at Helena had furnished an additional motive for his resignation, returned to Kansas.

Col. Wood always severely condemned the wanton destruction of property, the indiscriminate pillage and burning of houses by the soldiers. He said he was willing to fight men, but to steal from women and children and burn their houses and deprive them of shelter was brutal and cowardly. He positively forbade his soldiers appropriating supplies at farm-houses unless absolutely necessary for food or forage.

Among a lot of papers—the property of a rebel captain—which were found and brought in by a party of scouts were some love-letters and other private papers. These Col. Wood took possession of and kept nearly twenty-three years, when, upon the request of their owner, he restored them to him. He is now a prominent business man in Missouri, and a loyal citizen.

When he returned to Kansas he was appointed brigadier-general of militia by Governor Carney, and helped to organize the State militia. When the war was ended and peace declared, it ended the war for him. No word of bitterness or feeling of hatred toward those against whom he had been fighting ever escaped his lips, or was entertained in his heart. He said it was the duty of every true man—north and south—to try to heal past dissensions, and become united as the people of one nation should be. The bitter feeling towards the South displayed by some men who had never enlisted in the army simply disgusted him. He felt satisfied with his record as a soldier and as an officer, and did not care to parade his services and patriotism to win the glory that so many seemed to crave and insist upon in acts, if not in words. He cared but little for Grand Army parades and self-glorifying reunions. He thought it much more important to study the conditions and problems of the present, with reference to the present and future welfare of the people of our country, than to be forever exulting over the victories of the past.

CHAPTER VIII.

A Broken Leg.—Phrenological Delineation.—A Senate Committee *vs.* a Corporation.

When the Legislature met in 1866, the representative of the Sixty-eighth District was absent. The name of S. N. Wood, called by the clerk, elicited no reply.

He had sent some freighting teams to New Mexico, which from various causes had been delayed, and he had followed, overtaking them near Trinidad. He wrote:

"Winter has begun in earnest; we have had some bad luck, but never fear, my dear ones, I shall get home soon. " You know I am obliged to come, because the Legislature meets on the 9th of January."

The next letter, brought by the willing hands and flying feet of his little daughter, was eagerly opened and read in silence. "O, mamma!" cried the child, "if I had known that letter would make your face so white, I would have thrown it away." One cold December day, away up on Raton Mountain, an accident had happened and his right leg was broken. There was no doctor or surgeon within one hundred miles; he had been lifted upon his horse and rode a long distance to Wooten's ranch, fifteen miles west of Trinidad, where he and old Dick Wooten had set the broken limb, he pulling upon the knee and Wooten upon the foot until the bones were in place, when they bound it in splinters as best they could. All through this letter there was an effort at cheerfulness; there was not a word about the pain he endured, or the suffering and privation which he knew were inevitable in his helpless condition, in the small, windowless and floorless cabin, in the bitter cold of the snow-covered mountain. He wrote: "Don't worry about me; I shall live through it, and soon be on my way home."

One of the wildest snow-storms that ever fell upon Kansas came sweeping down that night,—the saddest night his family had ever known,—and on the following morning Stephen M.

Wood started for Council Grove, expecting to go thence by stage to his brother's side. But great drifts of snow blockaded the road, and the snowflakes coming straight from the north into their faces struck team and driver like arrows from the tensely drawn bows of a hostile army. It was impossible to proceed, and he returned to Cottonwood Falls.

In a later letter Col. Wood wrote :

" You see, we did not understand surgery very well; our " work was not well done ; and the contraction of the muscles, " or something, caused the bones to slip, and it seemed as if " that whole mountain shook with the pain. I shall always " be lame."

A resident of Trinidad—Jim Gray they called him—who had never seen Mr. Wood, but had heard of his misfortune and knew how he was situated, went to see him, taking some provisions, including bread and butter, crackers, dried and preserved fruits, and a bottle of whisky. Jim Gray, an unpretentious Missourian, did this ; and surely there were angels with him as he toiled up Raton Mountain through the cold and the snow, with his load of food and drink ; and, whether he knew it or not, his heart was beating in unison with the heart of infinite love ; and the attending angels, we believe, remembered his deed, and placed it in pictures of living light and undying beauty in a fair white mansion, which he may have reached ere this.

Col. Wood did not know what to do with the whisky ; he had always loathed whisky, but this particular bottle of it from the hands of Jim Gray was transfigured in a tender and divine light, which made it seem as pure as the consecrated wine of the sacrament. Stopping with Mr. Wooten were two men who had gone west from Missouri to avoid the draft which was made late in the war, and whose prohibition proclivities would not permit whisky to stand around in the way, and it soon vanished.

As soon as Mr. Gray thought it safe to remove him, he returned with an ambulance fitted up with bed, pillows, and blankets ; and very tenderly he and his assistants lifted the helpless man into it, and slowly and carefully drove back to Trinidad, where Mr. Gray made him welcome, and as comfortable as though he had been his own brother instead of a

stranger; and here he remained until able to get about on crutches.

Bands of hostile Indians were at that time roaming over the plains; and a trip from Trinidad to the frontier settlements was a perilous undertaking. He was warned against attempting it alone, but the longing for home overcame all fear. He was helped into a buggy, and with his crutches and rifle and pistols at his side and his helpless leg supported in the easiest position, he said "good-bye" to his friend Gray and his household, and started on his homeward run of over five hundred miles, stopping at stage stations on the plains, where he was tenderly cared for by the good-hearted men of the plains.

The mules which he drove were strong, light-limbed, and fleet, and easily ran the gauntlet in twelve days, narrowly missing the hostiles on two occasions, as he afterwards learned at the stage stations.

That great student of human nature, Prof. O. S. Fowler, summed up the characteristic traits of S. N. Wood as follows:

"Ambition, sir, a desire to eclipse all competitors and be number one in your line, is your strongest characteristic, and very strong; and you will work with might and main, strain every nerve, making any and every sacrifice in order to be first. You never would play second fiddle. Where you can not lead you will not follow.

"You have, besides, the very highest possible sense of honor; I would trust it to the end of time and to any extent. "You had rather die than break faith. You have also a great desire for position and for those honors involved in the ballot-box, and ought by all means to be a public man, for you have every talent requisite for it, and having a good, full share of conscience, as well as all-controlling sense of right, you choose for the object of your ambition something good, worthy, honest, and entitling you to commendation. You certainly ought to be a man of principle, for you were born with a good, full, hearty sense of right and duty.

"But, sir, you have one fault. You are too plebeian in your tastes, and mingle with this, that, and the other, irrespective of their and your relative standing. You should be more dignified; put yourself on higher ground.

"Worship of the deity is well developed, but faith is almost wholly wanting, and you believe next to nothing unless it is proved to a dead certainty; in fact, are a little skeptical as to 'isms' and dogmas; would not believe the

"thirty-nine articles, or one-tenth of them, any farther than
 "you could see rational, intellectual proof of them, and are
 "reformatory in religious matters and all matters, and naturally progressive and radical—so from principle at heart—so,
 "also, because you have the best good of all the people at heart.

"You are a man of extraordinary kindness; one of the very best hearted men to be found, and a great deal too kind, obliging, and good for your own good; a whole-souled man in everything, generous to your friends, and yet not careless of dollars, but must make them in a good large way, for you are not satisfied with small operations; could never dabble with pence; ought to get rich, for you really have financial ability, but all your tastes and talents run toward public life, and you have in addition all the organs of a natural speaker; are very happy in your expressions, fluent, almost flippant; have plenty to say and say it with uncommon emphasis, yet never hesitate for a word; never hesitate for a fact; have one of the best of memories, learn fast, and remember all you learn; have first-class recollection of places, and all the perceptions large; are a good judge of any kind of property with which you are familiar; are especially a fine judge of fine horses, and must have a pet of some kind.

"But, sir, speaking talent is your great talent, and you are peculiarly happy in the way you handle your subjects; are a good natural critic, and happy in your criticisms and illustrations; very pithy and pointed, both in what you say and in your manner of saying it; are good in logic; off-hand; have causality enough to give consistency and vigor to what you say. But your main method of argument is from similar cases, as by induction; choose just the very words which exactly express your meaning; are peculiarly copious in the use of adjectives; have a glowing imagination; set things up strongly; never say merely what you mean, but always exaggerate, though this is the soul of eloquence; are just exactly adapted to stump-speech making just before election; will carry elections as well as any other man. I had rather have you to stump for me than any man I meet; are full of gesticulation and action; a perfect mimic; peculiarly appropriate in your gesticulations—expressive; very fond of the beautiful and perfect everywhere in nature; you are naturally gallant; always take the side of ladies, and take it effectually; are exceedingly fond of home; likely to do what you can to improve home; a devotee to your mother; very fond of daughters. I hope you have fine daughters, nothing would give you more pleasure; are versatile in talent; can attend to this, that, or the other, as occasion may require, and go from thing to thing, poking iron after iron into the fire with-

" out confusion ; have great love of opposition ; crave to be on " the other side, any side so that it is 'the other side'; have " yet to see your best days; can live to a good old age; are " really great in argument; are exactly adapted to the study " and practice of law, and to unite law with politics, and will " rise sure, for you have both the talents and ambition. You " stick closely to your friends, and can hate intensely. You " are more cautious than any one gives you credit for being, " and know how to work the wires equally with the next man; " are the very personification of policy, art, adroitness, and " never show your hand; are so firm as to be doggedly obsti- " nate; have the most unbounded hopes; expect more than " you will ever realize; are a great man to make fun and keep " them all laughing; are the best of company; are system- " atic and keep things in their places; extravagantly fond " of traveling; one of the smartest and brightest of men; show " off to the best advantage. You will make your mark and " live a splendid life."

There was one quality of his subject which the learned professor did not mention; there was a soothing, restful influence that seemed to pervade his being, and surround him like an aural atmosphere. The weak, weary, and discouraged ones gained strength, rest, and hope from his presence and from his words. He loved children, and they trusted and confided in him. He could take a fretful, crying child from even its mother's arms, and it would cling to him and become quiet and smiling, while yet the little cheeks were wet with tears.

Prof. Fowler's prediction was fulfilled; he lived "a splendid life"; probably not to the outward and superficial observer, but in devotion to right principles; in earnest efforts for the uplifting and advancement of humanity; in the wealth of tenderness and compassion that flowed from his heart to all who suffer from wrong oppression and poverty; in such words and deeds among his fellow-men as never die, but are garnered up in a manner that is far above the comprehension of a sordid world, and at last meet the new-born spirit at the portal of a new life in words like these, set to the sweetest music of the heavenly spheres: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

In eight different terms of Territorial and State Legislatures—sometimes in the Senate and again in the House—S. N. Wood worked for the best interests of Kansas and for the right, as he understood it, with a zeal, ability, and untiring

industry that have rarely been equalled and never surpassed in public life. The following shows how he and two other Kansas men in the State Senate met the imperious demands of a railroad corporation as early as 1867.

On February 6, 1867, Governor Samuel J. Crawford submitted to the Kansas State Senate a communication from John P. Usher, attorney for the Union Pacific Railway Company, East Division, addressed to him as Governor of Kansas. As a specimen of railroad corporate literature, and as an assumption on the part of an attorney, the following extracts from his communication are herewith presented:

"In the complete success of the U. P. R. R. Co., Eastern Division, is involved the just pride, ambition, and prosperity of the State at large. Yet, with all this, there is a possibility that the action of the Legislature may be such as to injuriously affect the credit of the company and embarrass it in carrying out its objects and purposes. The legislation here referred to concerns the rates of the company for passengers and freights and the assessment of taxes. The eleventh section of the charter is explicit upon that point, and any attempt to interfere would only be a manifestation to Congress and to capitalists who have advanced near five million of dollars to the construction of the road, of an unfriendly feeling on the part of the State, which the company believes the State is most anxious to avoid. Moreover, by the eighteenth section of the act of July 1st, 1862, Congress has amply reserved to itself this power. It is supposed it will not be contended that any other authority can exercise it. 'No man can serve two masters.'"

Judge Usher proceeds in the following dictatorial strain:

"If the present mode of assessment is maintained, it requires no great discernment to see that the net earnings of the road may be exhausted in paying the taxes assessed. That the apprehensions of the company are not mere illusions, it has the best evidence. An example is here given: The tax in Douglas County for about eight miles of road amounts in the aggregate to \$3,200. Of this but \$590.10 are for State purposes; the balance local. The earnings of the road will not pay running expenses, necessary repairs and additions, and a like tax upon the whole line of the road."

"The company believes that the Legislature will not allow a law to remain on the statute book so discouraging to the further expenditure of money in the construction of railroads in the State. The manner of assessment is not in conformity

" with the assessment of other property ; and it is believed the mode of assessment may be changed without constitutional objection, so as to allow the assessment of value to be determined upon the net income of the road.

" If the State shall be pleased to adopt as a principle in the taxation of railroads that their value is to be ascertained from their net income, that income should be ascertained after deducting the interest upon money borrowed and actually applied to the construction of the road. Of course such a system would be uniform to all roads, and have a most encouraging influence in inciting investments of capital in the State.

" The company, as before stated, receives for every mile of completed road, from the United States, \$16,000, for the repayment of which the road and all the property of the company is pledged. It is not believed that the payment of taxes under the present mode of taxation will be regarded as a proper expenditure of the road, and the company therefore feel it a duty to resist the payment of them until it shall be judicially determined that they are legally bound therefor. If the Legislature of the State shall be of the opinion that the interest of the State will be best promoted by adhering to the present system of taxing railroads, the company request that provision be made for an amicable suit in which the question of the power of the State to tax the interest which the United States has in the property may be speedily considered.

" It is believed that the interests of the State are so intimately blended with those of the company that the one cannot suffer without injury to the other ; and that the interest of the State will be best promoted in the rapid extension of the road, enabling it to compete successfully with all rival enterprises, thus commanding itself to the favor of the general Government and the public at large."

Samuel N. Wood, Samuel A. Riggs, and Benjamin F. Simpson, the special committee of the Senate, submitted a report upon the foregoing on February 18, 1867, from which the following extracts are made :

" Your committee agree with his Excellency, ' That every facility consistent with the best interests of the State, and calculated to encourage the early completion of this road to its western terminus, should be extended to this company, and possible embarrassments prevented.' It is a great work and most important in its effects upon the future of the State, and because of its importance the committee have felt compelled to consider with some care the various legal propositions contained in the letter of the learned attorney

" of the corporation. And first of its tone. The attorney appears in the character of an instructor of the members of the Legislature of the State of Kansas, as to the legal status of the corporation he represents, and instead of asking favors of the sovereign people of Kansas, states his terms, and demands unconditional submission. When the acknowledged attorney of a corporation arrogates to that corporation the powers claimed in his letter of the 4th inst., it is not only the privilege, but it becomes the duty of the law-making power of the State to make a thorough investigation of the legal rights and obligations of this corporation or company.

" The attorney in this case claims :

" *First:* That the company is operating under a charter granted by the Legislature in 1855.

" *Second:* The attorney admits that the company did not enter upon the active construction of the road until after January 1, 1862, seven years after their act of incorporation.

" *Third:* The attorney denies the right of the Legislature of the State to regulate the rates of the company for passengers and freight.

" *Fourth:* That Congress has amply reserved to itself the power to control the rates of the company for passengers and freight.

" *Fifth:* Denies the right of the State to tax the road, on account of a contingent interest of the United States in the same.

" It might be well for this Legislature to inquire whether a Territorial legislature, possessing only delegated powers itself, and being limited to its duration, can grant such extensive and unlimited powers as are claimed for this corporation."

This Senate committee reasoned well on the inherent power to bind that was claimed by the "Bogus" Legislature of 1855, when it declared :

" The Territorial Legislature of 1855 was not a sovereign power. It possessed no powers of legislation except such as were delegated to it in the Organic Act; while a State government, on the other hand, possesses all the powers of legislation not prohibited by the Constitution. The act organizing the Territory of Kansas, it is true, granted to the Territorial Legislature, 'power over all rightful subjects of legislation,' yet it is not believed that the intention of Congress was, by means of the Territorial system, to bind or embarrass the coming State. The idea of a Territorial government is temporary; the mere protection of life and property until the people in their sovereign capacity, shall ordain

" and establish a State constitution, assume all the rights of " sovereignty, and authorize legislative action on their behalf.

" That such a government as was the Territorial organization can confer such extraordinary rights and privileges of duration, too, beyond its own existence, your committee do " not for a moment believe. It is plain violation of every principle of civil government.

" Angell and Ames on Corporations, page 124, on this question, use the following language: 'A corporation can have no legal existence out of the sovereignty by which it is created, as it exists only in contemplation of law and by force of law, and *when the law ceases to operate* and is no longer obligatory, the corporation can have no existence.' The language is too plain to quibble upon. We presume that no one will deny that when the people of Kansas adopted their State constitution and were admitted into the Union, the old Territorial government ceased to exist and was dead in law.

" Again; the same authority, on page 376, says: 'The act of incorporation is an enabling act; it gives the body corporate all the powers it possesses; no more, no less.' It is plain that no government possesses powers beyond its own existence, and if we admit that a Territorial government can establish corporations, these corporations cease with the government itself.

" Again; there is another principle of law which the learned attorney seems to have forgotten: that corporations are, in their nature, contracts; and that to be valid there must be contracting parties, each in a condition to contract; one offering and others accepting; that it is just as important that the conditions of an act of incorporation be accepted as it is that it be granted."

Thus the committee refers to the Territorial enactment of 1855:

" The act incorporating the Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railroad granted by the Territorial Legislature of 1855 contains the following emphatic language: 'Make by-laws, rules, and regulations, proper and necessary for carrying into effect the provisions of this act, not repugnant to the Constitution and *laws of the United States, or of this Territory*'; thus, as it will be seen, making every act of the incorporation subject to Territorial law. But we search in vain for any evidence that the company ever accepted the provisions of the act of 1855. The act itself provides that certain plats are to be filed with the Secretary of the Territory, and that the company 'shall make a report to the Secretary of the Territory or State, of the operations during the year, on the first day of December of each year.' Yet we

" examine in vain in the office of the Secretary of State for any evidence of even the existence of such a company.

" Again; by the terms of the contract, the company were to commence the construction of the road in five years, and complete the same to the western boundary of the Territory of Kansas in twelve years. As the attorney admits that they did not commence until after the expiration of seven years, and the time has elapsed in which they were to complete the road, it may be a question whether the company can claim anything under the provisions of this charter; and as this Legislature, under the provisions of our State constitution, can afford them no relief, we are decidedly of the opinion that the Union Pacific Railroad Company will find it necessary to organize under the general railroad law of Kansas.

" There is another proposition in connection with this branch of the argument that it might be well for the learned attorney to consider: The Legislature of 1855 was a usurpation. It did not emanate from the people of Kansas, and was never recognized by them, nor would its laws be enforced by any court in the world where the rights of the people are respected; and at the very first moment that the voice of the people of Kansas could be heard and their wishes respected, all the laws of 1855 were repealed and blotted from the statute book.

" The Territorial Legislature of 1858, possessing at least all the powers of that of 1855, as if to rid the Territory of all the bogus acts and charters of the preceding sessions, passed an act, which was approved February 11, 1858, entitled 'An act to repeal certain laws.' The first section of this act, in order to give legislative expression and sanction to the popular repudiation of the laws of 1855, reads: 'Section 1. All laws of the Territorial Legislature passed previous to January 1, 1857, are hereby repealed.' This did, in fact, repeal the laws of 1855 and 1857, including the charter of the Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railroad Company of 1855, and the amendment thereto of 1857; and that, too, before acceptance had been filed, a dollar spent, a spade of dirt moved, or any vested rights obtained."

The committee continue their plain statement as follows:

" Having thus disposed of the company so far as the Territory and the State of Kansas are concerned, we proceed briefly to consider the status of the company so far as the United States is concerned. In this connection it may not be amiss to state that it will be found, from a careful reading of the debates in Congress on the Pacific Railroad in 1861 and 1862, that Congress repudiates the idea that they could charter a company to build a railroad through the limits of an organized State, but did assume the power in

" the Territories; and after having incorporated a company to " construct a road and its Territorial branches, the 9th section " of the act provides, 'That the Leavenworth, Pawnee, and " Western Railroad Company of Kansas are hereby authorized " to construct a railroad, etc., upon the same terms and condi- " tions in all respects as are provided in this act for the con- " struction of main lines, etc.'

" What are the terms and conditions referred to? Clearly " the grant of sixteen \$1,000 bonds to the mile. Nothing " more nor less, except granting the right of way through the " public lands. Section 10, as if to leave no doubt, says, " 'That said company, chartered by the State of Kansas,' thus " recognizing the right of the State of Kansas to control char- " tered rights of this kind within its own limits.

" Section 18 provides that 'Congress may reduce the " rates of fare thereon if unreasonable in amount, and may fix " and establish the same by law,' refers in terms to only the " *main road*. If by any implication (taking the whole act in " connection), any power is here reserved to reduce the rate of " fare and freight over the Kansas branch of this road, it is " reserved to the State of Kansas, and not to Congress.

" As to the right to tax this road as other property, your " committee have not a doubt. When the company shall " have forfeited their property to the United States, it will be " time to raise, discuss, and settle the question of taxes. 'The " property of the United States.' As it is, the United States is " not the owner of the road, nor a stockholder, as in the old " United States Bank; so the case of *McCullough vs. Maryland* " is not in point, and the learned attorney's invocation of the " 'numerous decisions' is '*Love's Labor Lost*'."

Let the following words, uttered nearly a quarter of a century ago, be solemnly considered by the plain, common people:

" Having thus briefly reviewed the condition of this road, " we desire to say in conclusion that we do not want the " Legislature of Kansas to encourage 'possible embarrass- " ments,' or to make war upon this or any other railroad, con- " structing or projected within the limits of the State; but we " do insist that it is not only the right but the duty of the " Legislature to prevent the creation of monopolies that seek " to control the legislation of the State and use their local " power and general influence in the election of United States " senators, as well as to protect the traveling public and the " business community from the excessive charges of these " corporations. It is the opinion of your committee that so " long as the Union Pacific Railway fixes a passenger rate " equal to that of stage coaches, and a rate of fare on freight " equal to that by wagon or team, they are not in a position to

" ask for the extension of favors from the representatives of
" the people they so grossly impose upon.

" That the above expression is not too strong, and that
" your committee are justified in using such language, it is
" only necessary, in defense, to call the attention of the mem-
" bers of the Legislature to the fact that the corporation has
" proceeded to condemn the property of citizens of this State
" and obtain the right of way for the construction of their
" road under the provisions of the act of Congress approved
" July 20, 1864, which has no application to the State of Kan-
" sas. The Congress of the United States has no power to
" prescribe the manner in which the land of the citizens of
" this State shall be condemned by a private company for such
" a purpose, and Congress nowhere has claimed such right,
" but on the contrary, in the very act for which the proceed-
" ings for condemnation were instituted by this company, it
" is expressly stated that the provisions of the act apply only
" to the Territories.

" So gross a violation of the rights of the citizens of the
" State cannot be too strongly condemned, and we suggest
" that much of the dissatisfaction and ill feeling that has been
" manifested toward the corporation has been produced by
" their illegal proceedings and glaring usurpations.

" The State of Kansas, by legislative enactment, has pre-
" scribed the manner whereby the lands of its citizens can be
" condemned for the right of way for a railway; and it was
" the imperative duty of the officers of this corporation to have
" proceeded in strict conformity thereto. If by a departure
" from the legal course they invoke the enmity and curses of
" the people of Kansas, we recommend that they cheerfully
" bear their self-infliction.

" Another important fact can be mentioned in this connec-
" tion; the company has no authority for the construction of
" their road through Wyandotte County. Admitting that the
" charter of 1855 and the amendment thereto of 1857 are now
" in force, still no authority has been granted by either the
" Territorial or State Legislature for the construction or loca-
" tion of said road through said county. Hence we are
" strengthened in the opinion heretofore expressed, that the
" Union Pacific Railway will be compelled to organize under
" the general railroad laws of the State of Kansas, and it may
" be possible that the company will have to apply to the Leg-
" islature of Kansas for additional legislation, in order to re-
" lieve them from 'possible embarrassments' occasioned by
" want of respect and obedience to the existing laws of the
" State. If such application can be made, your committee
" would most earnestly recommend that every facility consist-
" ent with sound State policy be offered for the proper organ-
" ization of said railroad company."

It was in the spring of 1867, after the close of the Legislature, that Governor S. J. Crawford appointed Colonel Wood judge of the Ninth Judicial District.

It was at this time that Holloway's "History of Kansas" was written, and in it we find this concerning the subject of this volume:

"Mr. Wood was identified with the Free State movement from the beginning, and contributed much to its success. "He is a genius in his way; extremely radical, always in politics, and always elected. He is as aspiring, scheming, and ambitious as Lane was, but a better man in principle and "morals. He is now a Kansas judge, and resides at Cottonwood Falls."



CHAPTER IX.

Woman Suffrage in 1867.—S. N. Wood and Kansas Politics:—Speaker of the House.—Newspapers.—Greenback Party.—At the Quarter-Centennial.—“El Dearie.”—Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the State.

In 1867 the voters of Kansas had submitted to them three propositions on the suffrage question. The result of their verdict on the proposition to confer suffrage upon colored men was that in a vote of 29,904 there was a majority of 8,938 against the proposition. Only six counties gave a majority for “negro suffrage”: Cherokee, 14; Ottawa, 17; Wabaunsee, 41; Osage, 64; Riley, 74; Lyon, 230.

Out of 28,927 votes cast on the “woman suffrage” amendment there was 10,787 majority against; Ottawa gave 2 majority for, and Cherokee 10; these being the only two counties voting in its favor.

There were 28,025 votes cast on the proposed amendment to remove restrictions upon men who had borne arms against the Government, and there were 4,695 votes against the proposition. There were nine counties that voted in favor of removing the restrictions.

S. N. Wood was in favor of all these propositions, but to him was due the movement that put the “woman suffrage” question before the voters; he having been a member of the State Senate in 1867, and having displayed quite skillful strategy in compelling a recognition of the “woman franchise” question. In a letter to the *Kansas State Journal* he said:

“I have not opposed and shall not oppose ‘negro suffrage.’ It should be adopted because they are a part of the ‘governed, and must have a voice in the government, just as ‘much as women should. What I have to do with is the inconsistency and hypocrisy of those who advocate negro suffrage and oppose woman suffrage; the inconsistency and hypocrisy of those negroes who claim rights for themselves ‘that they are not willing other human beings with equal intelligence should enjoy.’”

Henry B. Blackwell and Lucy Stone, in April, 1867, opened

the campaign in the interest of woman suffrage. Mr. Blackwell, at the house of Governor Robinson, on April 5th, wrote to Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, saying :

" We have made Governor Crawford president of the State
 " Impartial Suffrage Association, and Lieutenant-Governor
 " Green vice-president. We find a very strong feeling against
 " Colonel S. N. Wood among politicians, but they all respect
 " and dread him. He has warmer friends and bitterer ene-
 " mies than almost any man in the State. But he is as true as
 " steel. My judgment of men is rarely deceived, and I pro-
 " nounce S. N. Wood a great man and a political genius.
 " Governor Robinson is a masterly tactician, cool, wary, cau-
 " tious, decided, and as brave as a lion."

Hon. John Stuart Mill, of England, wrote a letter to S. N. Wood, which reads as follows :

" BLACKHEATH PARK, KENT, ENGLAND,
 " June 2, 1867.

" DEAR SIR,—Being one who takes as deep and as con-
 " tinuous an interest in the political, moral, and social progress
 " of the United States as if he himself were an American citi-
 " zen, I hope I shall not be intrusive if I express to you, as
 " the executive organ of the Impartial Suffrage Association,
 " the deep joy I felt on learning that both branches of the
 " Kansas Legislature had, by large majorities, proposed for
 " the approval of your citizens an amendment to your consti-
 " tution, abolishing the unjust political privileges of sex at
 " one and the same stroke with the kindred privileges of color.
 " We are accustomed to see Kansas foremost in the struggle
 " for the equal claims of all human beings to freedom and
 " citizenship.

" I shall never forget with what profound interest I and
 " others who felt with me watched every incident of the pre-
 " liminary civil war in which your noble State, then only a
 " Territory, preceded the great nation of which it is a part, in
 " shedding its blood to arrest the extension of slavery. Kan-
 " sas was the herald and protagonist of the memorable contest,
 " which, at the cost of so many heroic lives, has admitted the
 " African race to the blessings of freedom and education, and
 " she is now taking the same advanced position in the peace-
 " ful but equally important contest, which, by relieving half
 " the human race from artificial disabilities, belonging to the
 " ideas of a past age, will give a new impulse and improved
 " character to the career of social and moral progress now open-
 " ing for mankind.

" If your citizens, next November, give effect to the en-
 " lightened views of your Legislature, history will remember

" that one of the youngest States in the civilized world has been
 " the first to adopt a measure of liberation destined to extend
 " all over the earth, and to be looked back to (as is my fixed
 " conviction) as one of the most fertile in beneficial conse-
 " quences of all the improvements yet effected in human affairs.

" I am, sir, with the warmest wishes for the prosperity of
 " Kansas,

Yours very truly, •

" J. STUART MILL.

"To S. N. Wood, Topeka, Kansas, U. S. A."

Any man might have deemed it a great honor and a pre-
 cious privilege to have been the recipient of a letter of such
 sterling character and worth as the foregoing from one of the
 most distinguished of British philanthropists and publicists.

The causes that led to the defeat of impartial suffrage is
 thus explained in a letter of very considerable importance from
 Colonel Wood :

" About May 2, 1867, C. V. Eskridge, of Emporia, wrote a
 " scurrilous article against woman suffrage which filled three
 " columns of the *News*. In it he denounced the lady speakers
 " in an abusive manner, ridiculing them with insulting epi-
 " thets. About the middle of May, F. H. Drenning, chair-
 " man of the Republican State Central Committee, called a
 " meeting of that committee to make arrangements to canvass
 " the State for negro suffrage. The committee met and pub-
 " lished an address in favor of manhood suffrage, but said
 " nothing as to woman suffrage. Shortly afterwards the same
 " committee summoned C. V. Eskridge, T. C. Sears, P. B.
 " Plumb, J. D. Snoddy, B. F. Simpson, J. W. Scott, H. N.
 " Bent, Jas. G. Blunt, Andrew Akin, and G. A. Crawford—all
 " opposed to woman suffrage—to make a canvass for negro
 " suffrage. They were instructed that they would 'be allowed
 " to express their own sentiments on other questions,' and we
 " all felt that the death-blow had been struck at both."

Mrs. Helen Ekin Starrett, of Lawrence, who was most
 deeply interested in the woman suffrage cause, said :

" Hon. S. N. Wood gave his whole time to the canvass,
 " speaking with Lucy Stone and Mr. Blackwell in nearly all
 " the towns in the western and northern part of the State.
 " Their meetings were ovations."

Mr. Wood, in a letter summing up the campaign, said :

" On the 25th of September an address was published,
 " signed by over forty men, the most prominent in the State;
 " such men as Senator Pomeroy, Senator Ross, Governor
 " Crawford, Lieut.-Governor Green, ex-Governor Robinson,
 " and others, in favor of woman suffrage; but the cause of

" both began to lag. Sears, Eskridge, Kalloch, Plumb, Simpson, Scott, Bent, and others, made a very bitter campaign " against woman suffrage. About the middle of October, " George Francis Train commenced a canvass of the State " for woman suffrage, and the question became more and " more antagonized."

Mrs. Susan E. Wattles, in a letter from Mound City, December 30, 1881, in reviewing the labors in Kansas on the "woman suffrage" movement, said :

" Many of the leading men were advocates of 'women's rights.' Governor Robinson, S. N. Wood, and Erastus Heath, and their wives, were constant and efficient workers."

Mrs. R. S. Tenny, M. D., one of the earnest and efficient women of Lawrence, writing from Independence, Kansas, November 23, 1881, said :

" Although the question of 'woman suffrage' was submitted to the people by a Republican legislature, prominent Republicans refused to recognize it as a party measure, and the consideration the legislature bestowed upon the wives and mothers of the young commonwealth was evidenced by associating them in a bill with ex-slaves and traitors. Revs. McBurney and Kalloch, C. V. Eskridge, and Judge Sears worked hard against the proposition, while Gov. Crawford and Judge Wood, an old anti-slavery man, and ex-Gov. Robinson worked hard and well in favor of it."

In 1872 he was secretary of the Liberal Republican State Central Committee of Kansas, and was selected as a delegate to the Cincinnati Convention which nominated Horace Greeley for President and Benjamin Gratz Brown for Vice-President.

On April 10, 1872, at Topeka, the party made the following declaration :

" The Liberal Republicans of Kansas, mindful of the early record of our State, so closely involved with the history of the Republican party, and the struggle for national existence, still steadfast and true to the vital principles which called that party into existence, would ever maintain as a part of our birth-right 'the rightful sovereignty of the Union, emancipation, equality of civil rights, and enfranchisement.' With a loyalty to principle that is higher and stronger than a loyalty to party or party leaders, jealous and watchful of the fair fame of our young State, earnest and resolute now as in the struggle to save the soil from the encroachment of the slave-power, we call upon the people of Kansas to unite in an effort to put a stop to the attempted absorption of the civil functions of the

" Government by the military and the encroachment of executive power; to inaugurate a thorough and genuine reform of the civil service that shall put a stop to the shameful abuse of official patronage for the control of conventions, whether in the interest of an individual, a faction, or a party; to effect a remodification of our revenue system, so that no class or special interest of the country shall be encouraged at the expense of others; to secure a wise and just system of taxation which shall place no needless burdens upon the people; to save the public lands of the nation to actual settlers under the principles of the homestead laws; to establish general amnesty as a correlative of impartial suffrage; and to extend our national sympathies to all people who are struggling to emulate our example of popular enfranchisement."

Numbered among the supporters of Greeley in Kansas were Thomas J. Anderson, Floyd P. Baker, Samuel J. Crawford, James R. Hallowell, Marcus J. Parrott, Preston B. Plumb, Edmund G. Ross, Joseph G. Waters, and Pardee Butler.

Samuel N. Wood was elected to represent Chase County in the House of Representatives in 1876. When serving the State as senator or representative, he always aimed at economy in the expenditure of public funds, and a consequent reduction of the burdens of the people in the matter of taxes. It was owing to his faithfulness in this direction that the Legislature of 1876 greatly reduced the annual expenses of the State, thus lowering the State levy. This term was known as "Sam Wood's Legislature," as was the one following, when he was Speaker of the House. In that year he supported the Hayes and Wheeler ticket, and was called to Colorado to assist in the presidential campaign in that State. He addressed large audiences in all of the populous mining towns north of Denver; also in Denver and other places; and was credited with having won more votes for the ticket than any other speaker in that State.

In 1877 he was again a member of the House from Chase County, and at an election held on February 7th to fill the office of Speaker, made vacant by the resignation of Speaker Elder, he received sixty-one votes, coming from forty-four counties; and ex-Speaker Josiah Kellogg received thirty-eight votes. Mr. Kellogg had been Speaker during the sessions of 1863, '64, and '73.

On February 16th Speaker Wood, in addressing the visitors from the Nebraska Legislature, said :

"I join heartily in the sentiment, that the wives, mothers, "and future women of the country are yet to prove its salvation from political ills."

On March 6th Hon. D. B. Long, of Ellsworth County, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

"That the thanks of this House are due to the Speaker, S. N. Wood, for the rapidity with which he has dispatched business and the good order he has maintained."

On the same day, on motion of Mr. Dixon, of Russell County, it was resolved :

"That the gavel with which Speaker Wood has so well ruled over the deliberations of this House be presented to him as a memento of the good feeling of the members."

The motion prevailed and the resolution was adopted. The gavel is now in possession of Felix Lodge, No. 295, I. O. O. F., Strong City, Kansas, having been presented to that lodge by Col. Wood, one of its charter members.

S. N. Wood had much to do with newspapers. In 1867 he started the *Chase County Banner* at Cottonwood Falls. This paper was an able advocate of the "woman suffrage" question, which the Legislature of that year had submitted to the consideration of the people. It was printed on the first hand-press ever brought to Kansas. Rev. Jotham Meeker, a Baptist missionary, had brought it in 1833, when Kansas was a part of the Indian Territory.

In November, 1878, he assumed editorial charge of the *Kansas Greenbacker*, published at Emporia by Spangler & Trask. Becoming interested in the office, the firm was known as Spangler, Wood & Trask. In the following March he took entire charge and control of the office, and in May, 1879, the name of the paper was changed to *The National Era*. Feeling that better work could be done through personal appeals to the people, he left an associate editor in charge of the office, and went about speaking on political reform. In the *National Era* of October 17, 1879, we find this :

"Col. S. N. Wood is industriously engaged in preaching "the Greenback gospel to a lost and sinful world—financially, "we mean. The light of his cheerful countenance has not

" illuminated the *Era* office for weeks. We hear of him in " Colorado, Missouri, Northern Kansas, and Nebraska. He is " doing a good work."

He was editor-in-chief of the *Kansas State Journal* at Topeka during 1881 and 1882; also in 1885 and 1886.

Although he had been a delegate from Kansas to the First National Republican Convention and was a "charter" member of that party and had been honored by frequent promotions from its ranks, he could not long remain blind to the fact that its mission had been fulfilled in the overthrow of the slave power and the preservation of the Union, and that it was rapidly degenerating into a machine, manipulated by the capitalists of England and America, for drawing into their plethoric coffers the wealth, the homes, and the very lives of millions of their fellow-men. The enemies of humanity had been vanquished, but the triumph was short; again they advance; stronger, more insidiously, and with the glamour of the national flag about them.

The old fight had been so long, and at times so hopeless; gladly would the veterans have rested, but no, they heard the spirit of the old Liberty party calling to worthy sons of worthy sires, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Count yourselves nothing; humanity everything." Politically S. N. Wood had nothing to gain, but much to lose, by renouncing his allegiance to the dominant party; but over all selfish considerations the call of duty sounded clear and unmistakable, and once more the brave soul enlisted with a minority and began anew the warfare against oppression, entrenched in power and sustained by popular enthusiasm and sectional hate. The men who became identified with the old Greenback party were not demagogues; they were true to their convictions and sublimely brave.

In his closing remarks made at Bismarck Grove, on September 15, 1879, Colonel Wood said:

"Now, it has been said that we are going to have another " quarter-centennial, twenty-five years from now. I expect " to be at it. And I think we have about as much work to do " in the next twenty-five years as we have done in the last " twenty-five years. I do not think that labor is more than " about half free now. We have got to go to work to save the

"country from the MONEY POWER as we did from the slave power."

On September 16th he made the closing address, in which he uttered these remarks :

"A mighty revolution has taken place in the last twenty-five years. We have met here from every State in the Union. "What once seemed a crime has proved often to be only a prejudice. Our prejudices have worn off, and we feel better toward each other. We have had a glorious reunion. Let us aim to take a step higher and in advance. It should be the determination of every man and woman to make the world a little better for having lived in it; and we ought to be a little better for having lived in this world, and we should try to place our children on a higher moral plane than we occupy. The next twenty-five years, in my judgment, will witness mightier revolutions than the past. Ladies and gentlemen, we must close. Please sing that beautiful song beginning, 'My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty.'"

The whole audience responded to the invitation, and that old song, breathing the spirit of liberty, was rendered with unusual power.

Very few persons knew that under the brave and cheerful exterior borne by Samuel N. Wood through the quarter-centennial anniversary was a heart broken and bleeding from an irreparable loss. Only two months before, the only child left in the home—"El Dearie," a daughter of fourteen, the idolized one, the hope and comfort of his life—had closed her eyes and floated away with the "boatman pale." He said the world was dark; it was "a dreary desert waste"; and the strong man went out alone and wept as only they weep who drain the bitter cup of bereavement of the dearest and best. After all was over and the burdens of life, now so hard to bear, were taken up once more, he rarely spoke of her, but the gray in his hair and beard increased and sometimes in the night he moaned, "O darling, darling!" He believed firmly in a future life, and in later years claimed that he often felt her presence with him, especially in his long, lonely night rides in Southwestern Kansas.

In 1882 Colonel Wood was a candidate of the Greenback Anti-Monopoly and the Greenback Labor parties, and also received the nomination of the Democratic party, for Congressman at large from the State, and at the election received 83,364 votes; which was 13,990 votes less than the Republican candi-

date, Lewis Hanback, received for the same office, and 127 more than G. W. Glick, Democrat, the successful candidate for Governor, received. On the assembling of Congress he went to Washington and contested the election of Judge Peters.

Samuel R. Peters had been elected judge of the Ninth Judicial District, and his term of office had not expired when he was nominated and received the vote of the Republican party in Kansas for representative. Col. Wood claimed, as a basis for his contest, that clause of Section 13, Article 3, of the State Constitution, which reads, "And such justice or judge shall receive no fees or perquisites, nor hold any office of trust or profit under the authority of the State or the United States during the term of office for which said justices or judges shall be elected." The Supreme Court of Kansas had declared that "the inhibition to hold this or any other office attaches to the person, and continues during the whole term or period of time for which he was elected."

The Legislature of Kansas had passed a law declaring that votes cast for a judge for a political office shall not be counted or canvassed, but treated as nullities.

No abler argument, or one better sustained by the Constitution, by law and judicial authority, and by precedent, was ever made in the National House of Representatives; and while the Democratic members of the House acknowledged that Mr. Wood's contest was just and his arguments unanswerable, they looked forward to the then approaching presidential campaign, and said, "The masses of the people do not understand these questions; if we give Mr. Wood the seat, we will be misrepresented in the coming presidential campaign as having unseated a Republican who had a majority for a Democrat who had been defeated;" and the question was settled, not according to law and precedent, but solely with reference to political expediency.

In 1884 he ran for Congress from the Fourth District, against Representative Ryan, and was 10,049 votes behind in the race. He supported the Cleveland and Thurman electoral ticket in 1888, and in 1890 was a supporter of the People's party and clerk of the House Judiciary Committee, of which Hon. J. S. Doolittle, of Chase County, was chairman.

On the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the admission of Kansas into the Union, held at Topeka, January 29, 1886, Col. D. R. Anthony presided at the evening session, and thus introduced one of the speakers:

"Thirty years ago I rode from Lawrence to Kansas City with a gentleman who is now in this house. At Westport we stopped at what might now be called a saloon, and took a drink—of water—and watered our horses. On the wall of this saloon was a poster offering \$1,000 reward for Eli Thayer, the founder of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, dead or alive. We asked what they would do with Eli Thayer if they had him. The reply was that he would be hanged. This gentleman who was with me stepped up and said: 'I am Eli Thayer; proceed to hang.' He was not hanged, but I have the honor this evening of introducing him to you. He was one of the truest of the pioneers in the great struggle. His name is a household word; he is better known as 'Sam Wood.'"

Col. Wood then delivered the following address:

THE PIONEERS OF KANSAS.

"Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: My heart fails me when I attempt to speak for the pioneers of Kansas. No tongue or pen will ever be able to do justice to the memories of the old Kansas pioneers. The Puritans left England for Holland, and finally came to America, in pursuit of religious freedom. They were the pioneers of New England, and sought freedom for themselves, not others. The first settlers or pioneers of the older States cleared away the forests, built houses, redeemed the prairies from silent monotony, made homes for themselves and children, and prepared the way for a more progressive civilization. Theirs was a noble purpose; they bore hardships and privations bravely, looking forward to beautiful homes in the near future; they were cheered, upheld, and strengthened by the good-will and sympathy of their neighbors, and above all, by the protection of the Government. The pioneers of some of the older States had to band together and live in forts and block-houses, and work with arms by them for protection from the Indians while they cleared away the forests or broke up the soil. The pioneers of Kansas came here for all this, and more. They came here seeking that freedom, not only for themselves, that the Puritans had sought two hundred and thirty-four years before, but freedom for a race. They came, it is true, to make homes for themselves and their children, but for something more. A critical period in

" our nation's history was upon us. The great question of " 'Freedom or Slavery' was being agitated. Was slavery the " rule and freedom the exception, or freedom the rule and " slavery the exception? Yes, it was a decisive period for " good or ill to unborn generations. The Territories of Kan- " sas and Nebraska had been thrown open for settlement by " the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill after a long and " desperate struggle against the infamous provisions of that " bill, which tore down the barrier against human slavery " made by the Missouri Compromise thirty-four years be- " fore. The success of this measure emboldened still more " the aggressive spirit of the slave power, and shocked and " alarmed every friend of human freedom. It was evident " that the great question, 'Shall freedom or slavery become " national?' was to be settled upon the plains of Kansas. " The spirit of liberty, which had seemed to slumber, if not " really dead, awoke, was resurrected, and called her sons to " action. This call was re-echoed through every village and " hamlet in the North. The result was, the pioneers came " here with their lives in their hands, as it were, to battle for " freedom.

" It was for a show of fairness that slavery and freedom " were invited here to contend for the mastery; but it was " well known that the projectors of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill " expected and intended that Northern men were to go to " Nebraska, while the South, with slavery, was to have a clear " field in Kansas. That the political party then in power de- " liberately planned this result, no one acquainted with the " history of that time can doubt. The slave power had con- " trolled both of the old political parties—Whig and Demo- " cratic—and at that time had full control of the government. " Kansas was almost surrounded by slavery; slavery in Mis- " souri, Arkansas, Indian Territory, Texas, and New Mexico. " No sooner was Kansas open to settlement than the minions " of the slave power swarmed across the border, seemingly " determined to occupy the whole Territory. Leavenworth, " Atchison, Kickapoo, Iowa Point, Doniphan, and other " places were occupied. These were the pioneers of the slave " power. But another class of pioneers were pouring into the " Territory. The emigrants from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, " Iowa, and the real emigrants from Missouri, came largely in " their own wagons, with household goods, seeds, and farming " utensils. They came unorganized and unannounced. These " were the real pioneers of Kansas. They prepared the way, " and their coming inspired those who followed with confi- " dence and courage.

" The Kansas-Nebraska Bill became a law on May 30, " 1854, and on the 6th of June, with my family and team

" and wagon, I left my Ohio home and was *en route* to Kansas.
" My wife's parents and family were already on the border,
" awaiting us at Independence, Mo. We traveled most of the
" way by water, reaching Independence about June 20th.
" Soon afterward I made a trip into the Territory with my
" wife and oldest child, camping out on the way. We traveled
" and camped out with White and Yates, old settlers and pio-
" neers of Douglas County, who settled near Bloomington.
" The 4th of July, 1854, we spent in Kansas Territory. On
" one of these trips we went by way of Westport and the
" Shawnee Mission. Crossing the Shawnee Reservation, we
" reached the site of the city of Lawrence, where we found a
" solitary settler, Mr. Stearns, a Western pioneer. We passed
" up the valley to what was then known as Coon Point, then
" down the California road to Miller's spring, where we found
" in camp our first pioneer 'squatter,' Judge John A. Wakefield,
" from Iowa, with a large family, mostly boys; also B. W.
" Miller and family, from Indiana, and others. All of these
" settlers were for a free State, and I shall ever remember
" them as among the real pioneers of Kansas.

" At this early day emigrants from every Western State
" were pouring in. We had not yet heard of the New Eng-
" land Emigrant Aid Company; and while I do not wish to de-
" tract in the least from the noble work of this society, can-
" dor compels me to say that freedom would have triumphed
" and Kansas would have been a free State had it never been
" organized. The pro-slavery men from Missouri had met in
" Kansas and adopted a code of 'squatter' laws, and the whole
" Territory seemed staked into claims. They had a register
" of claims, with an office at Westport, Missouri. One law of
" this remarkable code provided that Nebraska was for the
" North, and Kansas was for the South. One provision was
" that every 'white-livered abolitionist' who dared to set foot in
" Kansas should be hung; and that there might be no mistake,
" they added: 'Every man north of Mason and Dixon's line
" is an abolitionist.' But emigrants from the free States
" poured in, and they came to stay. A large number of these
" from Missouri were for a 'free white State.' They wanted
" no negroes, bond or free.'

" Our first 'squatter' meeting was held at the house of B.
" W. Miller, about two miles southwest of the present city of
" Lawrence. John A. Wakefield, as I said, was our first and
" only 'squatter' judge. The New England Emigrant Aid Com-
" pany was organized, and the first pioneers sent out by that
" society reached the Territory early in August. Hon. C. H.
" Branscomb was the leader or pilot of this first party. They
" pitched their tents on Mount Oread, where the State Uni-
" versity is now located. Dr. Charles Robinson had selected

" this site for a city, and for the headquarters of the Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas. Dr. Robinson himself came with " the second party, which reached Mount Oread in September, " and the city of Lawrence was founded. I was then living " on the California road, some three miles southwest of Lawrence, on what was afterwards known as Judge Spicer's place. " As soon as I learned that this first New England party was " on Mount Oread, I visited them. Among those whom I met " were Hon. D. R. Anthony, Dr. John Doy, S. F. Tappan, J. C. Archibald, Dr. Fuller, A. H. Mallory, Morgan, N. S. Goss, " and others—I think twenty-nine, all told. They came to " stay, came in the right time, and were a most welcome reinforcement to the Free State men already here. I need not " tell you how our hearts went out to them at this trying time " in our early history. You who have since come to Kansas, " you who were immigrants and not pioneers, can scarcely understand the hardships, privations, and dangers of our pioneer life. Among the earliest houses, I think ours was the best. It was not planned, however, by Haskell & Wood. " Four forks were set in the ground, poles were laid from one " to the other; these were crossed by other poles, and all covered with hay. The sides were enclosed with wagon cover " and blankets, and thus our first Kansas home was complete. " I will not describe its interior, further than to say that our " floor was solid, and we had no fear that the foundation would " give way. The last rain of 1854 fell on the 12th day of August. It was a terrible storm, almost a hurricane. Our " mansion was torn to fragments, and scattered far and wide " over the prairie. All the novelty and romance of that kind " of life went with the house. We never recovered the pieces, " either of the novelty and romance, or of the house. We " were drenched with rain, but it was dry enough the remainder of the season. As I now remember it, not a drop of rain " fell after that day.

" I have spoken of the pioneers of the West. The pioneers of the East came with their New England culture and " Yankee enterprise, but with very little idea of our rough " Western life. They came, however, as true friends of freedom; ready to do and dare. They trusted in God and 'Beecher's bibles.' They came to help establish freedom in Kansas, " and were determined to have peace, even at the cost of fighting for it. They also came to stay, and for a purpose as noble " as ever animated the breast of man. Our first Free State Governor, Charles Robinson, was the recognized leader of these " New England pioneers, a man well fitted for the position. " Born and educated in Massachusetts, he was among the early " pioneers of California; was in the 'squatters' riot at Sacramento, contending for the rights of the settlers against a lot

" of land thieves ; was shot through the body, and for a long time lay at death's door. A man of convictions, good in diplomacy, and without fear, he was just the man to lead those New England pioneers.

" The pilgrims of the ' Mayflower ' sought the wild shores of America that they might be free to worship God in their own way ; free to believe in religious matters whatever seemed right to their own consciences. They sought freedom for themselves. But the pioneers of Kansas—both Western and Eastern—heard the call which in every age has thrilled the souls of men with heroic power. At this critical period, when the hosts of slavery and freedom were marshaling for this great and decisive encounter, in their inmost souls they heard the divine voice calling for defenders of liberty, and they obeyed the signal that pointed to Kansas as the great battle-ground. The pioneers who became trusted leaders among the Free State hosts were men who could not rest in their old comfortable homes when the demon of human slavery was clutching at freedom's righteous heritage. Many of them were sons of the old anti-slavery agitators, and had learned from childhood to hate slavery and to love freedom, and claim it as the right of all men, races, and conditions. These men, meeting upon our praises for the first time, recognized each other as kindred spirits. They spoke the same language, and were working for the same grand purpose. Prominent among these, and true from the first, were Charles Robinson, who presided this afternoon, and D. R. Anthony, our chairman this evening. I might name hundreds of others. I wish I had time to do their memory the justice to which their noble work so justly entitles them.

" When I look back over the almost thirty-two years of my residence in Kansas, I am astonished at the mighty changes wrought in the moral and political as well as in the physical world. The 'Great American Desert' of my school days has been converted into a very garden of Eden, and our prairies have been made to bloom and blossom as the rose. With a million and a quarter of population, we have become the third corn and fourth wheat State in the Union. We are now raising more beef and pork than all New England. Our fruit is the marvel of the world. Whisky is no longer sold as a beverage, but only as a medicine, and is a drug in the market. Freedom has been established, not only in Kansas, but in the whole country. When Kansas was admitted into the Union as a free State twenty-five years ago, slave State after slave State seceded and went out of the Union with slavery ; but after four years of bloody war, came back begging admission into the sisterhood of

" States, without slavery. Freedom became national, and " slavery had not even a local habitation. There is not a man " or woman in the whole nation who advocates slavery, or " would restore the institution if they could. How my heart " swells with emotion when I contemplate this mighty change!

" Some of the individual changes are no less marked. As " I have said, in our first struggle the Government and the " party in power were on the side of slavery. Hon. A. H. " Reeder, our first Territorial Governor, came here prepared " to do the slave-holders' bidding. He betrayed the actual " settlers of Kansas by giving certificates of election to our first " 'Border Ruffian' Legislature, when he knew he was legalizing " a fraud of the blackest dye. Well do I remember going to " the Shawnee Mission, the temporary seat of government, in " company with two wagon-loads of well-armed men, hoping " to stiffen the Governor's back-bone, but we failed, and Kan- " sas, bound and chained for a time, passed into the hands of " the slave power! Governor Reeder afterwards saw his error " and became our friend. The slave power became so incensed " that he was obliged to escape from the Territory in disguise. " Stanton, a slave-holder, afterwards had the courage to do " what Reeder had failed to accomplish; that is, to restore " the Territorial government to the control of the actual citi- " zens of Kansas.

" General James H. Lane was a member of Congress from " Indiana when the Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed. He voted " to pull down the barriers of freedom and establish slavery in " Kansas. When Congress adjourned, instead of returning to " his constituents, he came to Kansas. At first he was a pro- " slavery man, but afterwards joined the Free State party, and " from that time labored and worked as but few others did to " make Kansas a free State.

" The Stringfellows, of Atchison, lawyer and doctor, were " among the most violent slavery propagandists. They helped " to send Rev. Pardee Butler down the Missouri River on a " raft. Judge Lecompte, who became famous during our Ter- " ritorial days—and under whose instructions the Free State " Hotel at Lawrence and Blanton's bridge were indicted as " nuisances and destroyed; and Charles Robinson, G. W. " Smith, A. H. Reeder, James H. Lane, George W. Brown, " George W. Deitzler, S. N. Wood, and Gains Jenkins were " indicted for treason—has also experienced a change. I am " happy to say that the Stringfellows, as well as Judge Le- " compte, are now good citizens and ardent Republicans. " The *Squatter Sovereign*, at Atchison, one of the most violent " pro-slavery 'border ruffian' sheets in our pioneer days, is now " the Republican, prohibition Atchison *Champion*. Instead " of the 'border ruffian' R. S. Kelly, its editor is now our pres-

"ent Governor, John A. Martin. Samuel J. Jones, our West
"port postmaster and bogus sheriff of Douglas County, who
"battered down the walls of the Free State Hotel at Lawrence,
"also experienced a change, and in the war that followed be-
"came an ardent Union man, and, I believe, a Republican.
"Milt McGee, whom all our pioneers will remember as among
"the most violent pro-slavery men, also during our late war
"became an ardent Union man and spent his time and money
"for the Union cause.

"I have mentioned those indicted for treason. I am
"proud that my name was among the number. We were
"charged with fighting the whole United States. To oppose
"human slavery in those days was to subvert the government
"and destroy the Union, or at least to remove its corner-
"stone. Reeder, Lane, Deitzler, Smith, and Jenkins have
"already passed over to the land of flowers. Robinson, Brown,
"and myself are the only ones left of these traitors to the
"institution of slavery. The indictment shows whom the
"pro-slavery men regarded as their most dangerous enemies.
"Had we been arrested and tried at that time, we would have
"been convicted and hanged. Then our bodies, too, would
"have been 'mouldering in the grave,' and our souls 'march-
"ing on.' Kansas was the great school of freedom, and her
"pioneers the teachers. Yes, the Kansas pioneers 'made way
"for liberty.' They made straight the paths for to-day.
"With all the power of the general Government against them,
"and sorely harassed by murderous incursions from hostile
"neighbors, they stood their ground with brave and patient
"endurance, and with steadfast faith in the final triumph of
"the right. They did their work well—each working in his
"or her own way; and these old pioneers have left their mark
"upon the page of time and the civilization of the age. His-
"tory will never do them justice. This is no time to find
"fault with any who took part in this great struggle. As to
"myself, I did what I believed right at that time, with the
"light that I then had, and I have no apology to make to the
"present, or to posterity, for the part I then took. I concede
"the same honesty of purpose to others. If any erred, let us
"throw the mantle of charity over their acts; for not until we
"reach that better country to which we are one by one surely
"emigrating, and in which we will be immigrants and not
"pioneers, will the motives of all and the whole work of the
"pioneers of Kansas be justly estimated.

"In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me express the hope
"that all pioneers who were here twenty-five years ago; who
"helped to free not only Kansas, but a race; all those who
"lived through the drouth of 1860 and the grasshoppers of

" 1874, with you, Mr. Chairman, may continue to live in this
" beautiful State, and enjoy the good things of this earth,
" until the good angels, with the Goddess of Liberty at their
" head, shall do what the 'Border Ruffians' in their day failed
" to do, remove them and you from earth to realms of eternal
" bliss."



CHAPTER X.

MURDERERS AND ACCESSORIES.

"The principal draws after it the accessory; not the accessory the principal.

"An accessory follows the nature of his principal."—*Axioms of Law*.

"The secret which the murderer possesses soon comes to possess him. * * * * He feels it beating at his heart, rising to his throat, and demanding disclosure. He thinks the whole world sees it in his face, reads it in his eyes, and almost hears its workings in the very silence of his thoughts. * * * * There is no escape but in suicide or confession, and suicide is confession."—*Daniel Webster*.

The *American Non-Conformist* of July, 1891, thus states one of the causes of the murder of Colonel Wood:

"When it becomes possible for a band of border bandits "to terrorize the entire country, control the machinery of the "country, and murder those who would stand in the way of "their plundering plans, and when recognition by the Admin- "istration of the State is given these bands of banditti, it is "time that people understood fully all the facts concerning "such outrages.

"For many years we have been accustomed to hear the "name of Sam Wood traduced, maligned, and spit upon by "Republican newspapers and Republican politicians, until a "sentiment has been manufactured among those who knew "nothing of his life and achievements, that he was unworthy "of the confidence of our citizens, and his every act was "treated with suspicion; but now his life comes under a "searching review.

"We find that he descended from Quaker parents. We "find that at the age of nineteen he was a member of an anti- "slavery convention; that he always had the courage of his "convictions, and dared to maintain them against all odds. "As soon as the Missouri Compromise was repealed, he found "his way to Kansas, as one of the early pioneers, to secure, if "possible, the admission of Kansas to the Union as a free "State.

"Again, we find upon close examination, that he was a "man of most correct habits, used neither liquor nor tobacco, "clean in his conversation, upright in his dealings, perfectly "honorable, and generous to a fault.

" His house was always open. His purse was always ready. He has been known to take the overcoat off from his back and place it upon a stranger, from whom he never expected to receive it again, nor any other favor in return.

" When he went to Stevens County he found that isolated community at the mercy of lawless banditti who were in control of the machinery of government and were using it to plunder both friend and foe alike. His sterling justice, his rugged honesty, his perfect intentions, and clear intelligence taught him how to check such high-handed outrages.

" He has been charged as being the fomenter of strife. It is false! When he saw the people being ruthlessly robbed, he interposed objections with legal form, and the border banditti soon learned that so long as Sam Wood's ready wit and courageous form were suffered to exist, their chance for plunder was small. Indeed, the first thing necessary to prepare the way for his removal was the creation of public opinion against him. This was industriously done by the means of the party press, that would go to any extent in following their leadership."

When, in the summer of 1886, Col. Wood was employed by the citizens of the north side of Stevens County to prevent its organization upon the basis of a fraudulent census return, which had been made in the interest of the Hugoton speculators, a mob from that town forcibly captured him and a Mr. Price, and for a time no one but the perpetrators of the outrage knew where they were, or whether they were alive or dead. Alarming reports concerning this lawless proceeding reached the world through the press dispatches; and a gentleman met Rev. J. N. Lee, of North Topeka, at Hartland, and told him that Col. Wood had been taken from Hugoton by a mob of armed and desperate men, and that he was in great peril, if not already murdered. He also requested Mr. Lee to withhold his name, as he was a citizen and interested in Hugoton, and he feared the consequences if it should be known that he gave information about the proceedings of the mob. Mr. Lee gave this information to W. L. Wood at Strong City, Chase County, who started on the first train west to ascertain, if possible, his father's fate. Throughout the State the anxiety of Col. Wood's friends concerning him became intense; and in order to quiet the public mind and prevent investigation of their criminal proceedings, the Hugoton people sent out dispatches stating that he had been released from arrest and gone

home. This was told W. L. Wood at Hartland, but knowing it was false, he went by stage directly to Hugoton, though he did not make known his identity. From his father's friends in Stevens County he learned that Capt. S. O. Aubery, with a force of twenty-five armed men, had gone south in search of him.

Mr. Edward Dudley, of Stevens County, appeared in Topeka on August 31st and filed in the Supreme Court a petition setting forth that—

"The said Wood is, and for several days has been, kept in concealment and unlawfully restrained of his liberty by H. O. Wheeler, C. A. Wheeler, J. B. Freese, J. W. Calvert, C. E. Cook, and by divers other persons acting in conspiracy with them, but to the prosecution unknown. According to the belief of the petitioners, the restraint is upon no lawful pretense whatever, but that said Wood having been engaged in taking depositions in the county of Stevens, adversely to the interests of said persons and co-conspirators, to be used in a certain contest over the organization of said county and the location of the county-seat, said persons stealthily and forcibly seized and abducted said Wood to prevent his further action in that regard, and to terrorize him and his clients, and to convey him to some unknown place in or about Stevens County; there to hold in prison, or restrain him, or murder him; and that since said abduction no person other than said abductors have seen said Wood."

Upon this petition a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued, to be served upon the defendants as soon as they could be found, commanding them to produce the body of Samuel N. Wood.

In a letter to the *Capital* of August 30th, Col. A. M. Mackey, of Topeka, said:

"So much unreliable matter has been published relative to the Stevens County embroilie, and such false statements relating to Col. S. N. Wood, evidently emanating from the Hugoton people, that I feel called upon to put the matter in its true light before the public. Early in the summer Col. Wood became impressed with the fact that that section was destined to become the garden spot of the State. Thus thinking, he went on an exploring expedition through Meade, Seward, Stevens, and Morton counties, seeking the most practicable railroad route, and this he thought he found in township 32 south, on the same section line on which Meade Center, Springfield, in Seward County, and Richfield, in Morton County, are located. On this line he located the town of Woodsdale, and eleven other gentlemen joined him

" in forming the Woodsdale Town Company, seven of whom
" reside in Stevens County."

Col. Mackey further stated in this letter that a copy of the census had been obtained from Topeka and was exhibited at a meeting which was held at Woodsdale, and the people were astounded at the frauds which had been committed by the census-taker in the interests of the town of Hugoton. He wrote:

"Upon a reading of all the names it was evident that from " 1,000 to 1,200 names had been fraudulently entered. Col. " Wood attended this meeting, and was called upon for his " legal opinion as to their redress. He calmly and dispassion- " ately stated the law to them, as I have been informed by the " chairman of the meeting, and used no abusive language " towards any one, notwithstanding the fact that some of the " Hugoton people were present circulating a libelous and " slanderous circular against Col. Wood.

"It was then unanimously resolved by those present that " the firm of Wood & Mackey be employed to take legal steps " to prevent the organization of the county until such " time as the legal number of inhabitants (2,500) should have " become *bona fide* residents of the county, as they were " unwilling to bear the burden of a county government with " so few tax-payers in the county.

"A petition to the Attorney-General was circulated and " numerously signed, asking his consent to the commencement " of *quo warranto* proceedings in the Supreme Court to " vacate the organization of the county on the ground of " fraud. Numerous affidavits were taken at the meeting, show- " ing fraud in the census, and committees were appointed to " get an accurate enumeration of each township in the county.

"It was for the purpose of securing the affidavits already " taken, and to prevent the taking of further affidavits, that " Colonel Wood and Captain Price were arrested on a fabricated " charge of libel, which could only have been based upon the " allegations in the petition to the Attorney-General, as noth- " ing else had been written or printed by him on the subject. " The fact that he has been kidnapped and foully dealt with " or secreted has been made known to the public by the " various dispatches to the Governor through official sources. " In this whole matter of taking evidence as to the frauds, " Colonel Wood has been acting as an attorney employed by " the majority of the inhabitants of Stevens County, and was " but doing his duty as such. If the exposure of these frauds " has injured Hugoton and incidentally benefited Woodsdale, " that is neither here nor there; but the question now pre-

"sented to the people is, whether a small body of persons, "acting in the interests of Hugoton, shall be allowed to commit these frauds and then kidnap and foully deal with citizens who were fearlessly engaged in exposing them.

"If alive, Colonel Wood and Captain Price will be rescued "by the party now in search of them. Let us sincerely trust "that they will meet with success and bring merited punishment upon the perpetrators of this great crime."

When it became known that Colonel Wood had been taken to No Man's Land, Capt. S. O. Aubery and his party followed them as fast as possible. Capt. Aubery's dauntless courage and his knowledge of the country and camping-places well fitted him for the leadership of the expedition. A letter was found which Colonel Wood had secretly written and directed to his wife and dropped upon the trail. On the envelope was penciled a request that the finder would mail it at the nearest post-office; and the prairies rang with the joyful shouts of the party at this evidence that he was yet alive and they were following the right trail.

The leader of the abducting party had gone some distance back to a house, where they had stopped, and they were in camp, awaiting his return, when the rescuing party appeared and began to surround them. George Pierson, who had refused their request for arms to defend themselves when the mob captured the two men at his "dug-out" on the Cimarron, but was the first man to volunteer to go to their rescue when he learned the true state of the case, rode fearlessly into their camp, and, springing from his horse, shook hands with Wood and Price. Their captors seized their guns, with a view to resistance, but Capt. Aubery called to them to surrender. Col. Wood remonstrated with them on the folly of attempting to fight five times their number. Capt. Aubery's men impatiently reminded their leader that they had not come "all this distance just to talk." Col. Wood begged for the lives of his captors, saying they were only acting for others. With reluctance, and some mental reservations, they laid down their arms and were conveyed as prisoners to Garden City, where they gave bail to appear for trial. The attorney for Stevens County, who was himself one of the instigators of the outrage, deceived the prosecuting witness as to the time set for the trial, and then dismissed the case. The man who, at

Hugoton, had been placed in command of this abducting party, and who escaped arrest, was an escaped murderer; and it was believed at the time that the Hugoton people had instructed these young men to take their prisoners to the wild and lonely plains and kill them, and then claim that it was accidental, or was done in self-defense. One of them said that he felt perfectly willing when they started out, but after riding and camping and getting acquainted with Col. Wood, he could not have been tempted to kill him. When Col. Wood found himself in helpless captivity, like a true philosopher, he made the best of the situation. He studied and talked about the country through which they passed, relative to future towns and railroad lines. He talked and exchanged stories and played cards with his captors, and assisted, when it seemed needful, in the care of the team and equipments. Men who have heard his political speeches may recall how, before they were aware, he had won their good will; how their prejudices melted away, and they listened eagerly to his clear statements and earnest appeals. So, those young men had hated him, they did not know why; and they hardly knew how or why they came to regard him with kind feelings, and would not have harmed a hair of his head.

In the Topeka *Commonwealth* of September 18, 1886, appears a letter from Colonel Wood, which reads as follows:

“STRONG CITY, September 15, 1886.

“Editor of the *Commonwealth*:

“With a number of gentlemen in Stevens County, including some in your city, we laid off a town in Stevens County in the exact center east and west, and as near the center north and south as we could get on account of the sand-hills. “I confess that I supposed we had a moral as well as legal right to do this; but Hugoton, a little town just over the sand-hills, went into hysterics. I was at home sick until about the 15th of August, when, in answer to telegrams and letters urging my presence, I went to Woodsdale, our town. I found the people there excited because they had been disfranchised. The temporary commissioners had divided the county, east and west, into three commissioner districts, nine by twenty-seven miles. They had then divided the county, north and south, into three townships, nine by twenty-seven miles. In two of the commissioner's districts there was not a voting-place north of the sand-hills. The whole north part of the county was without a voting-place. I also learned

" that the grossest frauds had been perpetrated in the memorial asking the organization and in the census. Men declared " that there were not 1,500 inhabitants in the county, and " whole families were named as being on the rolls who were " not in the county. A public meeting was called at Woodsdale on Saturday. I at once wrote J. L. Pancoast that while " we knew the county was fraudulently organized, yet we " would waive that fact if we could have 'a fair election and an " honest count.' I urged that three voting-places should be " established north of the sand-hills; but to this letter I got no " answer. On Saturday we had a large meeting. I read the " law organizing new counties. We had a copy of the memorial purporting to be signed by 400 householders, when " there were not 300 houses in the county. We had a copy " of the census rolls, with the names of 2,662 persons on it. " Of these there were over 200 pairs of twins. Men looked at " the list and swore to scores of names who were never in the " county. The meeting unanimously resolved to institute " proceedings to expose these frauds and disorganize the " county. A large number of affidavits were taken on the " spot, showing the census a stupendous fraud.

" I had expected to leave on Sunday, but was compelled " to stay over on some business until Monday. We took a " new census of the county, and found we had less than 1,300 " inhabitants and less than 300 houses. The people of Hugo- " ton called a meeting hastily on Monday afternoon. They " became frantic at these exposures. A large number of " speeches were made of the most incendiary character. J. " W. Calvert said, 'Wood and Price must be got out of the " way until after election.' C. E. Cook said, 'Are you going " to stay here and let Wood and Price get away with all these " affidavits and evidence?' These and similar speeches were " reported to us that evening at T. S. Rice's, where we had " gone to take the stage for Hartland, on the railroad. After " dark I was told two men wanted to see me at the well. I " went out and found the hack-driver, who wanted to know " how many passengers there would be for the railroad next " morning. He said he had heard there was a number. I " told him that all had gone that day except Price and myself. " We wanted to go in the morning, and asked him what time " to be ready. He said 8 o'clock. I told him we would be " ready. As soon as he left we learned that the mules he was " driving belonged to J. W. Calvert, and decided that the " stage-driver was too accommodating for the West, by driving " eight miles through the sand-hills to see if we would be " passengers. As it was important for me to reach Topeka " with our evidence, and for Price to reach Meade Center, " where he had writs to serve from the United States Circuit

"Court, we procured a wagon and left. We drove to S. O. Aubery's, seven miles, and made arrangements with a neighbor to take us to Ulysses. We were to start at 2 A. M., and get ahead of the mob, which we felt sure would intercept the stage on the Cimarron, but we did not get ready until daylight. As we approached the Cimarron, about sunrise, two horsemen rode up the bluff far enough to see who we were, and turned back. All of us comprehended the situation at once, and knowing they would be on that road at the Cimarron, we made for the lower road. Feeling sure that we should be captured, I raised the hay in the fore end of the wagon and concealed our affidavits, and gave directions what to do with them in the event we should be captured. Our driver then put his horses to the run to the Cimarron. We soon saw the five horsemen following on the run, but we crossed the Cimarron and reached the opposite bank with our pursuers within pistol shot. I wondered they did not shoot. Price and myself succeeded in reaching the 'dug-out,' when it was immediately surrounded. I held the door with my left hand and a five-shooter in my right. Price had a horse-pistol that he took from the driver. We stood them off until they said they were not a mob, but had a warrant. We at once went out and surrendered our arms. They refused, however, to show any warrant, or even to tell us what the arrest was for. Ordering us back into the wagon, they started up the Cimarron. I whispered to Price and the driver, 'They are going to Colorado,' but after going west five or six miles, they turned south and we passed some eight miles west of Hugoton; not a house to be seen most of the trip.

"At 2 P. M. we reached a house five miles southwest of Hugoton, and took dinner. After dinner we continued about a mile southwest, when a horseman overtook us and ordered us taken to Hugoton. We afterwards learned that they had not intended to take us to Hugoton at all, or if they did, not until after night. Reaching Hugoton, I took a bath and sent for a doctor and went to bed. My room was guarded all the time by an armed sentinel. I was not allowed to communicate with any one, was not informed what I was charged with, or allowed to see the warrant or complaint. I felt sure it was a ruse to get hold of us and run us into No Man's Land. I determined, however, to make the best of the situation, and went to bed and to sleep. In the morning, still under the strictest guard, we ate breakfast. After breakfast Messrs. Wells and Ferguson, of the north side, called to see us. Our captors refused us a private interview, and I was only allowed to talk with a room full of men. I told them to say to the people on the north

" side that we were under arrest, but did not know and could " not find out what for, but were in no personal danger; to " go right ahead with all our work and business the same as " if we had not been captured. Three of them looked on " while I wrote this to S. O. Aubery on the north side, or " Woodsdale. I wrote a similar letter to A. M. Mackey, my " partner at Topeka. I also wrote to my wife, but my captors " would not consent that a private letter should be written " her. We were soon taken to a large room, which seemed to " be an arsenal, and after perhaps an hour, were asked if ready " for trial. I said we had not yet read the warrant or com- " plaint, and asked to see them. I found we were charged " with libel, not for anything written or printed, but spoken. " I knew it was no libel, and called Price to one side and said " so, but we decided to waive examination, and asked what " bond would be required, and were informed \$1,000 each. I " wrote a note to Woodsdale, asking our friends there to come " and bail us, and tried to hire a man to take it over, but " failed; men at Hugoton and in the plot to kidnap us insist- " ing on going on our bond. When we left the court-house a " spring wagon stood at the door, and we were ordered to get " in. Gaston, the man who captured us, had the lines. I " asked: 'Where are you going to take us?' He said: 'I " brought you here, and will see you safely back.' I hesitated " and gained some time by trying to get a \$10 bill changed. " Calvert told me to get in; that the boys were not satisfied, " and wanted us away. I finally got in and the wagon started, " not for Woodsdale, but east, towards Fargo Springs. I " asked him what it meant. He said that it was not safe to " go to Woodsdale, and they were going to take us to Fargo " Springs, in Seward County. I sat with the driver, and an " armed man with Price on the back seat. I soon noticed " two armed men following us. At Calvert's well, five miles " out, we got water and watered our team. A mile beyond, " our driver turned short to the right on the prairie. I asked " him what it meant. He said: 'We are going fishing and " hunting until after election,' and asked what we thought of " it. I said: 'We are in your power and will go where you " take us.' They avoided houses, and at 4 P. M. reached " Smith's well. When ready to start, I objected to going any " further and insisted on stopping, but was ordered into the " wagon. A camp wagon and two armed men had joined us " here. From Smith's we soon crossed the State line into " No Man's Land, and did not camp until 9 P. M. From this " time until our recapture we were not allowed to talk to any " one we met, in private. We were kept under guard all the " time. Besides this, we were treated well and had plenty to " eat. I shall always hold the boys with us in kindly remem-

" brance for kindness to us, feeling that they were agents of
" others, who are the real guilty parties.

" The history of the pursuit and recapture is too well
" known to be repeated here. Suffice it to say that within
" three hours after we left Rice's that night the house was
" surrounded by a mob of over forty men. They hunted us
" everywhere when they realized we were gone. One party
" of six went as far east as Springfield, thirty miles east. The
" first story told was that we were arrested for criminal libel,
" had given bail, hired a team, and left. They told this to the
" officers sent there to investigate. They told the same thing
" to my son, who spent Sunday after the kidnapping in Hug-
" ton. But this article in the *Herald* of September 1st was
" after our recapture, when the whole country had waked up
" to the enormity of the crime, and they had to invent a new
" lie. Hence this tissue of falsehoods in the Hugoton *Herald*.
" If the people of Hugoton are a law-abiding people, why do
" they talk about 'shutting men's wind off with a rope?'
" Why do they fear a legal investigation of their acts? Why are
" their county commissioners hiding out to avoid process? I
" want to say now, distinctly, that I have not sold my interest
" in Woodsdale, and it is not for sale. I would not trade it
" for three whole towns of Hugoton. I will give the people
" of Hugoton the credit to say that no one even offered me a
" dollar or made any proposal of any kind to me to sell out.

" If money was 'publicly raised' in Hugoton to buy my
" interest in Woodsdale, or to buy my manhood, it is another
" instance of misplaced confidence. The men who raised it
" have it yet. This sell-out lie is too thin. If true, why
" refuse to let us speak to our friends from Woodsdale? Why
" keep us confined and guarded as if we were murderers?
" Why refuse to let me write a private letter to my wife?
" Why tell everybody, even the officers sent to investigate,
" that we had gone to Fargo Springs? Why get the *Owl* at
" Fargo Springs, edited by a brother of J. W. Calvert, to pub-
" lish that we had passed through that town east? Why did
" a woman in Hugoton and a messenger to Woodsdale say
" that they were lying, and that we had been carried south?
" The fact that we were found without arms when recaptured,
" and our captors showed fight, gives the story the lie. Twenty
" persons in Hugoton will swear that all the preparations
" were made to carry us to No Man's Land before the arrest.
" Gaston has told the story to three men at least in No Man's
" Land. Our captors, on their way to Garden City, told to
" every man in camp a different story. No, gentlemen; you
" will have to get up another lie. You will never make any
" one believe this silly story. The men who originated it

" know it to be false. The people of Hugoton know it to be
false.

"The positive evidence of people of their own town is
"against them. The kidnapping affair has not resulted as
"they expected, and they would like a hole to crawl out. Let
"me suggest that they tell the truth, stop their unlawful acts,
"and abide the decision of the court.

"Yours,
S. N. Wood."

It was afterwards learned that a secret meeting had been held on the night that Colonel Wood and Mr. Price were prisoners in Hugoton, and that C. E. Cook, O. J. Cook, J. B. Chamberlain, C. Freese, and J. J. Jackson, all of whom were later found guilty of the murder of Sheriff Cross and his men, advocated the killing of Wood and Price. A wagon was procured and the tongue raised for a scaffold, and the crowd started to hang them. Had it not been for J. L. Pancoast and others, they would have murdered Wood and Price that night.

The fraudulent census which had been taken of Stevens County had been duly returned, and on the 3d day of August Governor Martin had issued his proclamation organizing the county, and naming Hugoton as the temporary county-seat. A large number of the *bona fide* residents of the county petitioned for and obtained from the Attorney-General permission to institute *quo warranto* proceedings in the Supreme Court, and employed Wood & Mackey as their attorneys to begin legal proceedings to disorganize the county. In less than thirty days after this fraudulent organization this action was instituted in the Supreme Court:

"State of Kansas *ex rel.* S. B. Bradford, Attorney-General,
"vs. John B. Robertson, H. O. Wheeler, J. B. Chamberlain,
"acting commissioners of Stevens County, and J. W. Calvert,
"acting clerk of said county."

The petition set forth the facts which rendered the organization of the county illegal and fraudulent, having been obtained through perjury and forgery, and that the defendants were illegally and fraudulently acting as county commissioners and county clerk, holding those offices by no lawful warrant, authority, or appointment, and that the act creating the county was invalid; and asked that this illegal and fraudulent organization be set aside.

While this suit was pending in the Supreme Court, the Legislature of 1887 passed two acts, both of which legalized this

fraudulent county organization. One of these was an act to legalize an act of the Legislature,—special session of 1886,—an act to restore or recreate and define the boundaries of Seward, Morton, and Stevens counties. This was prefaced by a preamble containing this clause: "Whereas the said counties have, since the passage and publication of said act, been organized." The other act was one creating the judicial district composed of Stevens and other counties. The effect of these enactments of the Legislature was to dismiss, without trial, the case in the Supreme Court, and place the costs upon the plaintiffs, who were by this unjust interference debarred from presenting in court the merits of their case.

So exasperated had a large majority of the citizens of Stevens County become at the unlawful proceedings of the people of Hugoton that they had refused to vote at the November election, not being willing to sanction the frauds which had been committed in the organization of the county. Only 221 votes were cast, and the attorney for the defendants was thus elected to represent them in the Legislature, while 421 citizens petitioned the Legislature to not interfere by legislation with their suit, then pending in the Supreme Court.

When the bill for creating the judicial district composed of Stevens and other counties was before the House of Representatives, Hon. F. E. Gillette presented this petition, signed by 421 citizens of Stevens County, whereupon A. W. Smith, Speaker of the House, descended from the Speaker's chair and indulged in a most malicious and unjust tirade of abuse of "Sam Wood." The cowardly nature of this attack upon Colonel Wood was intensified by the fact that he was simply a spectator, and thus, having no claim upon the House, could not have the privilege of defending himself. A. W. Smith never dared to meet Colonel Wood on equal terms. When in the old chivalric days a true knight met an enemy, he asked, "Are you armed?" He scorned to attack one who was not prepared to defend himself; but A. W. Smith on this occasion displayed the same base cowardice that Jim Brennan showed when he slipped up behind Colonel Wood and shot him in the back. The Legislature probably mistook Speaker Smith's abuse for argument. The bill creating the Thirty-second Judicial District passed, and the southwest corner of the State became a judicial district.

which has proved to be a refuge for crime. One cause of the successful passage of these bills is indicated in the following from the Woodsdale *Democrat* of March 11, 1887:

"Meeting a prominent man, the other day, who resides in Garden City, he stated that to his certain knowledge it cost Hugoton and the Cimarron Town Company \$25,000 to pass the acts intended to legalize the frauds in Stevens County. They were gotten through by bribery."

Although this action of the Legislature was regarded as unjust by a majority of the people of Stevens County, it was acquiesced in as a settlement of the county-seat question; and no further discussion of that subject took place. All efforts to make it appear that the killing of Col. Wood was the result of a county-seat fight were only the attempts of his murderers to conceal the real nature of their hideous crime.

The people of the north side of the county worked, as was their right and privilege, for the material advancement of their section, and the people of the southern border of the county became so disgusted with the lawless and disreputable methods of the Hugoton leaders that they allied themselves in sympathy and interest with the people of the north side. In the summer of 1888 they attempted to get an extension of lines of railroad through the southern and northern portions of the county; but, owing to the usual resort to fraud and force, no fair expression of the wishes of the people could be had. So determined and bold was this lawlessness that the State militia was sent to protect the county commissioners in their work of canvassing the returns of the election, which, as usual, were fraudulent from every precinct that the Hugoton men controlled.

They made frequent and open threats of killing men whose interests were supposed to antagonize their own, and it is now known that some of them armed themselves and followed Colonel Wood and others on several occasions when they were traveling between different points in Stevens County in the night.

The leading men in the town of Hugoton next followed Sheriff Cross, of Stevens County, and his posse into No Man's Land, and surprised them in camp, assassinating, as they supposed, every member of the party. One, a boy of nineteen, afterwards revived, and escaped to tell the tale. This took

place on July 25, 1888. The Attorney-General of Kansas, Hon. S. B. Bradford, after a thorough investigation, said "They were shot down like brutes; murdered in cold blood." Governor John A. Martin, in his last annual message, said: "Sheriff Cross and three others were brutally murdered by citizens of Hugoton." For a long time these murderers boasted of their bloody work. They feared no law, because the best legal talent of the land claimed that no court had jurisdiction over No Man's Land, and but few people thought they ever would be tried for their crimes; but Col. Wood went to work, examined all the records, and, after weeks of patient work, found that the United States District Court at Paris, Texas, had jurisdiction, and convinced the Governor of Texas and the United States Attorney-General of the fact.

Sam Robinson, one of the leaders in the murder had fled to Colorado, and was already in the penitentiary on a long sentence for robbing the post-office at Florissant, and many of the other participants in the murder had fled to other parts of the country. Those who could be found were arrested and tried, and six were found guilty and sentenced to be hung; Col. Wood assisting in the prosecution. C. E. Cook and J. B. Chamberlain were, upon the first ballot, "found guilty as charged."

After a long, hard fight, in which political influence was brought to bear upon the case, they got a decision from the Supreme Court sustaining the jurisdiction of the court at Paris, and granting a new trial on a writ of error.

The conviction of the murderers was accomplished mainly on their own statements, made when they believed themselves absolutely secure from arrest and trial; and the only regret they expressed in the whole matter was, that they had not killed "Sam Wood" when they had him in No Man's Land, or that he was not with the Cross party. The names of these six convicts are C. E. Cook, O. J. Cook, J. B. Chamberlain, Cyrus Freese, J. J. Jackson, and Jack Lawrence. It is said that while waiting in Paris for their trial to begin, they got together in a saloon, crossed their revolvers, and swore that they would kill S. N. Wood. They repeated these threats often and without reserve, and he was warned that they had employed a half-breed Indian to follow and kill him. As soon as

it became evident that they were to be released, their friends in Stevens County began boasting that "Col. Wood would have to leave the country or die."

Throughout the trial he had neither used undue effort nor uttered an unkind or malicious word, but had only tried to ascertain the facts in the interest of justice and for the protection of human life in Stevens County.

When, upon a technicality, the United States Supreme Court granted them a new trial, a systematic effort was begun on the part of their friends, State Senator Kelly, Hon. A. W. Smith, and other citizens of McPherson and elsewhere, to defeat the ends of justice and turn these criminals out without further trial. The spirit of sectionalism was invoked: "Kansas Republicans tried in Texas!" political prejudice was aroused in their behalf; and the grossest misrepresentations were made to the Department of Justice at Washington by the friends and attorneys of the criminals. Consequently Attorney-General Miller worked himself into a rage over the great expenditure of money in the trial, blaming Col. Wood with all of it, and blaming District Attorney Wilson, and removing him from office for having permitted Col. Wood to assist in the prosecution.

The Attorney-General's pretended solicitude about the expense of the trial was a very thin disguise. District Attorney Wilson's letter, on hearing of Col. Wood's death, gives intimations of recreancy to duty in the Department of Justice that should attract attention:

"GALVESTON, TEXAS, June 24, 1891.

"*Mrs. S. N. Wood:*

"The murder of your husband at Hugoton, Kansas, by "James Brennan, one of the witnesses for the murderers "of Sheriff Cross, on the 23rd instant, was a shock to me "when I read it in the press dispatches.

"Attorney-General Miller is indirectly the cause of this "murder. His censure of me as District Attorney, for per- "mitting your husband, Col. Wood, to plead the cause of the "widow of Sheriff Cross, was notice to the friends of the "hay-stack murderers that any attempt to prosecute them "would be frowned down by the Attorney-General's office; "and this was emphasized by my discharge by the President, "at the request of the Attorney-General, without being al- "lowed to utter one word against the order.

" When you consider that I had the support of the bar,
 " and was confirmed by the Senate, this summary removal
 " without cause or investigation showed a purpose on the
 " part of Hon. William Henry Harrison Miller, Attorney-General,
 " to sacrifice me to serve his friends who were implicated
 " in the most cold-blooded murder of modern times—an oc-
 " currence which could not take place under the despotism of
 " Russia or the liberal monarchy of England, but which in
 " republican America was done with impunity.

" Words of condolence in your great bereavement would
 " but poorly express the sympathy of Mrs. Wilson and myself.
 " We know that God will take you into his holy keeping, and
 " avenge your husband's assassination, and time alone can
 " heal your sorrow.

" With kind wishes to yourself and children, I am respect-
 " fully yours, JOSEPH H. WILSON."

Mr. Wilson was appointed by President Harrison for the Eastern District of Texas, as United States District Attorney, and his home was at Paris, Texas.

Attorney-General Miller sent an emissary, named Horton, from Massachusetts to Kansas and Texas, ostensibly to investigate the circumstances of this murder and the conduct of the trial; and Mr. Horton accomplished his mission by seeking out, associating with, and enquiring of, exclusively the attorneys and friends of these convicted murderers; and his report, judging from results, seems to have been made in their behalf, and adverse to the verdict of the jury. Horton seems to have been employed *not* to find evidence to convict, but to find a plausible excuse for discharging these men without further trial, or at least for a delay of the case until S. N. Wood and the important witnesses could be silenced.

The following letter from Col. Wood to the United States Attorney will be read at this time with interest. Its closing lines are sadly prophetic:

" TOPEKA, KAN., Dec. 12, 1890.
 " Hon. Wm. H. H. Miller, Atty-Gen'l, Washington, D. C.

" DEAR SIR,—I learn that Hon. Joseph H. Wilson, as
 " United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Texas,
 " has been removed by an executive order dated November
 " 29, 1890, and that on the same day you enclosed this order
 " to Mr. Wilson with a letter in which you say: 'You practically
 " surrendered your office to the control of a lawyer from a for-
 " eign State, having no connection with the Department of Jus-
 " tice. That you should have placed in his hands, or at his

" command, blank præcipes and subpœnas, signed by you
" without limit; that you should have permitted him to act
" in the case at one and the same time as *detective*, as an
" *officer summoning witnesses*, and as the chief counsel in the
" prosecution of the case; and under his management, and
" under your very eyes, thousands of dollars should have
" been expended in subpœnaing witnesses, and paying their
" fees, who knew nothing about the case, evinces, to say the
" least, incompetence and unfaithfulness to duty wholly incon-
" sistent with your retention of the responsible office."

" I submit that Examiner Horton must have been
" imposed upon by the friends of the murderers of John M.
" Cross, sheriff of Stevens County.

" I was subpœnaed as a witness in that case, was present
" during the whole trial, and made an argument to the jury,
" and presume I am the attorney alluded to in your letter to
" Judge Wilson. This is only a part of the purpose of the
" friends of the murderers to strike down every man who had
" anything to do with the prosecution. I deny most emphat-
" ically that Mr. Wilson placed in my hands or at my disposal
" blank præcipes or subpœnas, or that I acted either as officer
" in serving subpœnas or as detective. It is true that in per-
" haps a half-dozen cases I got persons to accept service of
" subpœnas, and saved the expense of an officer, but I did not
" know that was a crime against the Government. I defy
" anyone to show any subpœna served by me as an officer, or,
" in fact, any other way, except to get parties to accept ser-
" vice as above, and save expense to the Government. I was
" in no sense a detective, any further than, as a lawyer, to sift
" the testimony and see, if possible, what was and what was
" not evidence. The attorneys for the Government knew
" nothing of the case. The murdered sheriff was a citizen of
" the county in which I reside. I knew all the parties. If
" there was to be a faithful prosecution, it was absolutely nec-
" essary to have some one from Kansas to assist. I have no
" apology to make for the assistance I rendered.

" When Judge Boarman authorized the defendants to sub-
" pœna witnesses without stating their testimony, they sub-
" pœnaed 165 witnesses. The defendants' wives and families
" and other families were subpœnaed. Prominent men in dif-
" ferent parts of Kansas and other States were subpœnead by
" defendants, and we had to anticipate and prepare to meet
" every phase of the defense, and thus more witnesses were
" subpœnaed than were used. We were in constant receipt of
" letters stating what certain parties would testify. These
" letters were examined by the District Attorney, and when it
" seemed probable that their evidence was important and mate-
" rial, they were subpœnaed. In a large number of cases no

" subpoenas were issued. If I had before me a list of witnesses, I could show for what purpose each and every one was subpoenaed. In many cases witnesses, when they reached Texas, would not testify as they had represented they would, and, of course, were discharged. Such witnesses were, in many cases, at once subpoenaed by defendants. I left in Texas a large number of letters, which I filed away to show why certain witnesses, who knew nothing when they got there, were subpoenaed, and would be glad to show them to Mr. Horton, or to any officer of the Government.

" It would not have been possible for the attorneys for the Government to prosecute these defendants without some one to consult who was familiar with the facts. The defendants had four Kansas lawyers, and you seem to censure Judge Wilson for consulting one; for in no other way did I appear in the case until the close, when I was asked to sum up the evidence because I was familiar with it; and both Judge Wilson and Colonel McComb thanked me for my assistance. While awaiting the confirmation of Judge Bryant, I was absent nearly two weeks attending court in Kansas, and, at the request of the attorneys for the Government, visited and had an interview with the Governor of Colorado concerning Sam Robinson, one of the indicted men, who was in the Colorado penitentiary. In my absence some thirty witnesses were subpoenaed. I have no doubt but representations were made to U. S. Attorney Wilson which induced him to have the subpoenas issued. Feeling that the attorney had been imposed upon, I urged their prompt discharge, which was done. No more subpoenas were issued until Colonel McComb, the special counsel for the Government, carefully examined the representations as to what witnesses knew; but even then, in many cases he was deceived. Thirty men were indicted; half of them were on trial with about eighty witnesses for the Government, which, considering the number of defendants, and the fact that they had 165 witnesses, was not a large number.

" I am sorry that an honest man, as Judge Wilson is, should be stricken down without a hearing. Mr. Horton, I am told, when in Topeka, was under the influence of defendants' counsel. Mr. Soper, Assistant District Attorney at Topeka, was formerly in the office of Rossington, Smith & Dallas, attorneys for defendants. While in Texas at the trial, I read letters written by him to the officers in Texas, insisting that certain of the defendants were not guilty; thus making himself quite odious to the Texas officers. Soper also misrepresented the case, as being a county-seat fight. I will have his letters sent you if you desire to see them. I am told that when Mr. Horton was in Texas he was in the

" company of B. E. Johnson, an attorney for the defendants, " who desired to throw all the odium possible upon the prosecution and break them down.

" You seem to forget that we had to wait a month in Texas for the confirmation of Judge Bryant, which added largely to the costs. If you see proper to investigate, you will find that these defendants and their attorneys, after subpoenaing their wives and all their relatives down to little girls ten years of age, have been charging all this fraud and expense up to the prosecution, and Judge Wilson is made the victim.

" The papers this morning say that the Supreme Court has granted these men a new trial. If so, and you expect Texas attorneys entirely ignorant of the facts in the case to convict them, you might as well enter *nolles* and discharge them. This will be understood as a license to shoot down other men, which, in my opinion, they will proceed to do.

" I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

" S. N. WOOD, *Att'y at Law.*"

On March 2, 1891, Senator Plumb and State Senator H. B. Kelly, of McPherson, together repaired to the Department of Justice in Washington and presented a petition signed by the Governor and all the State officers of Kansas, and by the State Senate, asking that those persons charged with the murder of Sheriff Cross, of Stevens County, and those confined in the jail at Paris, Texas, be set free and the indictments against them dismissed.

Those persons charged with the murder of Sheriff John M. Cross, of Stevens County, had been "found guilty as charged," by a jury of twelve men. Not only this, but each and every one of them stood indicted for the murder of three more unarmed and defenseless men at the same time and place. These three men were Robert Hubbard, Rolland T. Wilcox, of Clyde, Ohio, and C. W. Eaton; and the Kansas Governor, State officers, and the Kansas State Senate united in asking that the cold-blooded murderers of Sheriff Cross and these three men be set free and the indictments against them dismissed. This, in effect, has been done.

WITH SUCH ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE STATE AUTHORITIES OF KANSAS, IS IT SURPRISING THAT THESE MURDERERS UNITED IN THE CONSPIRACY TO KILL S. N. WOOD, AND WERE SOME OF THEM HIDDEN IN HOUSES WITH WINCHESTERS IN THEIR HANDS TO KILL HIM IF BRENNAN FAILED?

A letter of November 1, 1892, from the clerk of the United States Court at Paris, says of the Cross murder case:

"I can't say as to its future disposition, but *the loss of Col. Wood and Ed Short as witnesses greatly cripples the prosecution.*"

A letter from an officer of the United States Court, Eastern Division of Texas, dated July 29, 1892, says:

"The case of the United States *vs.* C. E. Cook *et al.* is still pending. It has not been tried nor called for trial, owing to the fact that the attorneys on each side had agreed upon a continuance. What will be its future, I have no information or idea."

A letter dated September 22, 1892, from the prosecuting witness, says:

"I have written Mr. Hanney (U. S. District Attorney), also Assistant U. S. Attorney, at Paris, several times, but hear nothing from them. Mr. Kirkpatrick, clerk of the United States Court, answered my letter to him, but could not tell me what was being done."

Other parties have written to U. S. District Attorney Hanney for information about this case, but he replies to no one. Comment is superfluous. Is Attorney-General Miller *defending these murderers?*

The murderers of Sheriff Cross had resolved that Col. Wood should not live to again assist in prosecuting them. C. E. Cook, the leader of the gang, had moved his family away from Hugoton, and was one of a crowd of armed and drinking desperadoes who went from Liberal to Hugoton on the day previous to the murder of Col. Wood. A person who was in Hugoton at the time states:

"C. E. Cook had Brennan with him, and his attention was so engrossed all the evening before Col. Wood was killed that he could see no one else."

These convicted criminals aided in the preparations for the crime they committed through the hand of James Brennan. They and their associates in Stevens County and elsewhere had made a special effort to make enmity between Col. Wood and Judge Botkin; and Botkin concluded that in order to get their support for his nomination for Congress at the Republican convention to be held in Dodge City, in the summer of 1890, he must become a personal enemy to S. N. Wood, or seem to be, at least. He told Col. Wood this, and to accom-

modate Botkin in this respect Col. Wood consented to take his abuse and not resent it or think hard of him. James R. Hallowell was nominated for Congress, and Botkin, who had gone to the convention with a hired brass band and the deportment of a conqueror, returned to his home disappointed. As they blamed Col. Wood with everything that happened and everything that failed to happen, it was easy for his enemies, who found Judge Botkin a congenial companion, to make him believe that Col. Wood was to blame for his defeat. There is reason to believe this was the case, as from that time forward Judge Botkin's enmity was bitter, active, and implacable towards the man who had hitherto honestly tried to persuade himself and others that "Botkin's drinking is the only trouble;" "he will be all right on the bench," etc.

During the summer of 1890 a vacancy occurred in the office of county attorney in Stevens County, to fill which Judge Botkin appointed William O'Connor, of Hugoton. This man O'Connor made himself conspicuous, upon the return of C. E. Cook and his comrades to Hugoton from their bloody raid into No Man's Land, by making a speech to them and their sympathizers. A citizen of Stevens County, who was present, thus described the scene :

"O'Connor had been drinking, and his blood-shot eyes " glared as he raved and demanded that they finish their work " by proceeding to Woodsdale and demanding that Ed Short " and S. N. Wood be given up, and then shooting them as " they did Cross."

Judging from O'Connor's course after his appointment, one would have concluded that S. N. Wood was the only wrong-doer in Stevens County. At the instigation of O'Connor and Judge Botkin, he was repeatedly arrested on fictitious charges. It was believed that their object was to get him into jail at Hugoton and murder him while a prisoner and helpless in their hands, but with his superior knowledge of law and ready tact, he managed to defeat their schemes.

A plan to destroy the town of Hugoton and end the career of some of its citizens had been entered into by a large number of the citizens of Stevens County. They had become desperate at the bold schemes of robbery and wholesale plundering of the county which the men in control of the county-

seat by the action of the Legislature were inaugurating, and their lawlessness and open threats of violence had become a constant menace to the law-abiding citizens. This plan was nearly ready for execution when Col. Wood ended it and saved the lives of some men who afterwards repaid him by hiring and urging Brennan to kill him. He did this by writing a letter to the leaders of the project, urging them to abandon all thoughts and plans of violence; and to rely solely upon the laws of the State for protection and for the maintenance of their rights. To-day there are men in Stevens County who say it was a mistake. "If Col. Wood had not interfered to save Hugoton, our troubles would have been settled long ago, and he would be alive to-day." Yet "conspiring and attempting to burn the town of Hugoton" was made the basis of a charge upon which to arrest him.

The following item of history appeared in the *American Nonconformist* early in July, 1891:

"Last fall a candidate for county attorney was O'Connor, "a desperado, the history of whose crimes has been secured "and placed on file, so that when he appears to practice "before the Supreme Court the evidence of his crimes will "disbar him. With this convicted thief in the county attorney's chair, and Botkin as judge of the district court, there "would be no limit to their opportunities for public plunder.

"In order to prevent the wholesale plundering of the "people, Col. Wood allowed his name to be used as a candidate for county attorney.

"On the night before the official count some parties opened "the returns and found the majority for Col. Wood, and "erased five from his votes in two different precincts, and "added five in each of these precincts to the votes of O'Connor.

"The forgery was committed with a different shade of "ink from that used by the township clerks in making out "their reports. The returns were sealed and left for the "county commissioners to count, which they did, and refused "to go behind the returns, although the plain forgery was "pointed out to them. Col. Wood contested the case, and it "was soon to be called in the Supreme Court of Kansas. "These banditti evidently reasoned that if Col. Wood could "be removed, the contest would not be pressed, O'Connor "would remain county attorney, and their opportunities for "public plunder for the next two years would be unlimited."

There is abundant evidence to prove Mr. O'Connor's complicity in the crime committed by the hand of Brennan.

At Ulysses, in Grant County, Col. Wood was charged by W. E. Hutchinson, a friend and tool of Botkin, who was also county attorney, with concealing stolen property; and when, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, he answered the charge before the Supreme Court, and it was shown that the only foundation for this accusation was his advice to a client to keep possession of a certain horse, that was about to be taken by replevin, until he could give a redelivery bond, his accuser realized the contemptible position in which he had placed himself. When asked, "Is that the only charge you have against him?" this accuser and county "attorney" answered in confusion, "That is the substance of it," and was informed that any lawyer had a right to so advise a client.*

Not only were these frequent and unjust arrests made, but Judge Botkin had proceedings instituted to disbar Col. Wood. During the December (1890) term of court in Ulysses, Grant County, Judge Botkin declared, with an oath, "Sam Wood has got to die." He and others here talked freely over their plans for taking his life; and Brennan and three others, who are known, tried to get into his room at midnight, but were discovered and frightened away.

A weekly paper said, soon after Col. Wood's death:

"It is stated that Wood was the instigator of the Botkin investigation, and its chief supporter at the trial. This is untrue. It is true that some of the Republican petitioners, recognizing the ability of Col. Wood, secured his legal advice, that they might proceed according to the forms of law.

"When petitions had been sent to the Legislature for the removal of Botkin, he became alarmed and went to Topeka and secured an interview with Col. Wood, which took place as follows: Two rooms were occupied in the Copeland Hotel. In one room were Judge Botkin and his friend W. P. Hackney; in the other were Col. S. N. Wood and his friend Leland J. Webb. Wood and Botkin did not meet, but Webb talked for Wood, while Hackney talked for Botkin. At this conference a compact was entered into and an agreement was made, upon the terms of which Botkin was to cease his persistent persecution of Col. Wood; was to reinstate him in his law practice in Stevens County, and continue his cases in court, so that he could finish his duties at the Legislature

*Since the above was written, this same Hutchinson has been appointed judge of the Thirty-second District by Governor Humphreys, to fill the vacancy made by the resignation of his friend Botkin, who probably resigned only upon the condition of Hutchinson's appointment to the place.

" before these cases should be called for trial. In return for " this magnanimity (?)—which is nothing but what he should " have done under any circumstances, if he were a man and " not a brute—in return for this Col. Wood agreed on his part " not to take any active part in the impeachment trial that " was determined upon. This compact, so far as Mr. Wood " was concerned, was scrupulously observed. He carried out " to the letter his portion of the agreement which was entered " into before these witnesses."

He avoided the impeachment trial, and when called to testify before the Senate he went unwillingly, and made his testimony as harmless as his knowledge of the facts would permit.

A letter of late date from Stevens County says:

" Mr. Dudley told me that in conversation with J. W. Calvert, some time after the murder, the question of Colonel Wood leaving Stevens County came up, and he told Calvert that Colonel Wood had made arrangements to leave as soon as his case in the Supreme Court, in regard to county attorney, was settled, and Botkin would appoint anybody but O'Connor. Then Calvert said, 'I would to God I had known that.' His son, who was standing by, looked his father hard in the face, when Calvert added, '*if I had known anything about it.*'

" There cannot be any doubt but a plot of huge dimensions was made to get him that day. A number of the assassins were secreted in buildings, conveniently near, to shoot him in case Brennan failed or any trouble occurred. It is all clear to me. Sincerely yours, _____"

This J. W. Calvert is the man who made the fraudulent census of Stevens County, and was one of the mob that surrounded and searched T. S. Rice's house for Wood and Price the night before they were captured; the mob then proposing to kill them to prevent their interference with its unlawful proceedings. He furnished the team and wagon to convey them to No Man's Land. He is one of the men whose lives Colonel Wood saved when he prevented the raid that was planned to destroy the town of Hugoton. He sometimes prays and "speaks in meeting," and while awaiting his trial in Paris, Texas, for complicity in the murder of Sheriff Cross, he expressed a desire for more retired quarters, that he might hold morning and evening prayer with his family. He had his family, even down to the little ones, subpoenaed, and the mileage and *per diem*

which they drew made no small share of the sum which later afforded Attorney-General Miller a pretext for the removal of District Attorney Joseph H. Wilson.

If Mr. Calvert silently acquiesced in the plot to kill Col. Wood, it was only because he thought it was necessary in order to get rid of him. But O, if Calvert had only known that he was about to leave Stevens County, he might, and probably would, have tried to save his life. Sins of omission are sometimes as fatal as sins of commission; and it is well that Mr. Calvert believes that "though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow." He will be "saved." But what about the soul of the murdered man? How will you make restitution to him? How atone for the wrong inflicted upon his family?

Take your time. There is all of time and eternity in which to answer.



CHAPTER XI.

Alliance House of 1891.—Attempted Arrest.—Protection by Shawnee County District Court.—Premonition of Death.—A Brutal Assault.—Law Practice.—Farming.—Kind Deeds.—Last Homeward Ride.—Why?

Petitions asking the Legislature to remove Judge Botkin from office were circulated and very generally signed, especially in Seward, Grant, and Stevens counties. A few men refused to sign them, giving as a reason the fear of his vengeful retaliation in case the Legislature failed to remove him. He was charged in the House with being an habitual drunkard, a blasphemer, and corrupt in office. These charges and more were fully and clearly proven before the House investigating committee. The House, as a result, impeached him, and appointed a board of managers to present articles of impeachment to the Senate, which they did. The House, to save expense, then passed an act to abolish the Thirty-second Judicial District. This the Senate refused to pass, thereby becoming responsible for the expense of the impeachment proceedings, which could have been saved by abolishing this useless district.

Col. Wood, as clerk of the Judiciary Committee, became very popular with the House of Representatives, which was largely composed of intelligent and honest men, but many of them deficient in legislative experience. They found him thoroughly capable of advising, and always ready and willing to assist them. He was never too weary, the hour never too late or early, to help to the extent of his ability—which all who knew him will concede was great—those who asked his advice or assistance. They won his admiration and sympathy by their honest endeavors to serve the State, and they trusted him with implicit confidence.

The pained, sad look that came over his face when told that Representative Andrews, of Cowley County, had just died at the Dutton House, while his wife and daughter were

expected on the next train, will not be forgotten by those who were present. Tears filled his eyes, and for a time he stood motionless and silent, and when he spoke it was in a husky, choking voice.

He possessed in a great degree the intuitive power to understand sickness and decide upon the best remedy. This was a natural gift. The simple remedies he prescribed were wonderfully successful. "I ought to have taken papa's medicine instead of the doctor's." Over thirteen years have flown, and the memory of those words still bring an agony of regret.

Some of the members were ailing with la grippe and colds; and he sought them out and prescribed for and encouraged them, and was rewarded by their acknowledgements of restored health from following his advice. The more intimately those Alliance legislators became acquainted with him the more they admired and trusted him; and he was never happier in his life than during that memorable winter; always hard at work, and always ready to undertake even more than he could accomplish without depriving himself of needed rest. Old friends who resided in Topeka, and those who visited the capital during the winter,—whether political allies or opponents,—met him with kindly greeting and good wishes, and those who had known him the longest met him in the most kindly manner, and with the greatest manifestations of friendship.

"I am thankful that he had that one happy, triumphant winter," said one of his nearest and dearest ones when groping for consolation in the thick darkness of an awful bereavement.

"He who surpasses or subdues mankind must look down upon the hate of those below him," said Byron. This is only too true, especially when "those below" are creatures of such base and brutal instincts as are those who sought the life of Col. Wood. The malignant hate that rankled in the minds of O'Connor, Botkin, and their allies became intensified at his evident popularity. They had slandered and traduced him, and they now saw how little harm their falsehoods had wrought upon him in the estimation of intelligent and honorable people throughout the State. The Topeka *Capital* of February 4, 1891, relates that on the previous night Constable Aurel and William O'Connor appeared and attempted to ar-

rest Col. Wood on a charge of bribery in the election. They had spent the day in Topeka, but made no attempt to arrest him until just before train time, at midnight.

"Col. Wood asked Aurel for the warrant, and told him he "could not go without permission of Judge Horton, as he was "under bond to appear before him on the following day.

"Aurel said, 'No, you will have to go now; we will have "to get away on this train.'

"Col. Wood insisted that he was entitled to a copy of the "warrant, and said, 'I am going to have it before I go.' Au- "rel tried to take him, but Col. Wood had got the warrant in "his possession.

"O'Connor stamped and swore as the hands of the clock "indicated there were but ten minutes until train time; still "Col. Wood held his ground. O'Connor stamped in his rage, "and telephoned for the police, who came, but were informed "they had no authority to interfere.

"It was now past train time, and Aurel saw that another "attempt to get Wood into their power had failed. As the "police and party started down stairs, O'Connor said, 'Well, "I'll be G—d d—d if old Sam Wood hasn't beat us again.' "As no warrant could be found to hold him, his enemies de- "parted and Wood went to his hotel."

The Topeka *Capital* thus explains the animus of this attempted arrest:

"County Attorney O'Connor is the man who was Col. "Wood's opponent for the office of county attorney of Stevens "County, and who was declared elected by the canvassing "board, but against whom Wood now has a contest pending "in the Supreme Court."

The following was the opinion very generally expressed at the time:

"Had Sam Wood not pocketed that warrant for his ar- "rest at Topeka served by a Stevens County constable last "winter, the dispatches from Hugoton announcing his sudden "end would doubtless have been that much earlier."—*Signal*, "June, 1891.

For his protection, while engaged as clerk of the Judiciary Committee, he appealed to the District Court of Shawnee County, as follows:

"To the Hon. John Guthrie, Judge of Shawnee County:

"The petition of S. N. Wood respectfully represents that "he is a citizen of Stevens County in said State; that said "county is the home of some thirty men charged with the "murder of John M. Cross and three others in No Man's Land

" July 25, 1888. That your petitioner is one of the attorneys " who prosecuted and convicted a part of the men charged " with the said murder at Paris, Texas, in June and July, 1890. " That some of these men and their friends in Hugoton, in " said Stevens County, have formed a conspiracy to kill and " murder your petitioner. That since petitioner arrived in " Topeka he has received letters without signature, post- " marked 'Hugoton', threatening his life. That he has also " received reliable information that said parties at Hugoton " have conspired and formed to get petitioner out of Shawnee " County by arresting him on a warrant issued on some " trumped-up charge, and that their plan is to take him over " the Rock Island Railroad to Liberal, Kansas, and then by " stage or private conveyance into No Man's Land, beyond the " jurisdiction of the courts of this State, to kill and murder him.

" That in pursuance of said conspiracy petitioner has been " heretofore arrested on some trumped up charges, and when " said cases have been heard in the Supreme Court he has " been finally discharged, except in one instance, in which " petitioner was at his own request permitted to waive a pre- " liminary examination and enter into recognizance in the " sum of \$1,000 for his appearance at the next term of the " District Court of Stevens County, which case is now pend- " ing therein. Your petitioner further represents that these " conspirators do not place these warrants in the hands of the " sheriff of Stevens County, or any of his deputies, but cause " them to be placed in the hands of some irresponsible person, " claiming to be such, from Hugoton, who is in said con- " spiracy."

The petition here relates the attempted arrest, which is herein given as published in the Topeka *Capital*, and continues:

" Your petitioner further says that he has been informed " by telegraph that one W. F. Schell and other conspirators " from Hugoton are now on their way to or are now actually " in Topeka for the express purpose of carrying out the object " of said conspiracy, and getting possession of the person of " the petitioner under cover of a trumped-up warrant, and " carrying him out of the State into No Man's Land for the " purpose above stated.

" Your petitioner further says that he is a clerk of the " Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives of " said State, and is also a witness for the prosecution in the " legislative proceedings now pending to remove from office " Theodosius Botkin, judge of the Thirty-second Judicial Dis- " trict, and his attendance as such witness before the legisla- " tive committee in such proceedings will be necessary for " the next ten or fifteen days. Therefore your petitioner

"prays your Honor for a writ of *habeas corpus*, commanding
"and directing said W. F. Schell, and any and every officer of
"the State of Kansas, or each and every other person or per-
"sons who may have or take into custody your petitioner, the
"said S. N. Wood, to have and bring his body before your
"Honor, that the truth of the charges against him and the
"cause of his detention may be enquired into, and he be dis-
"charged or admitted to bail, as to your Honor may seem
"proper in the premises; and that a warrant be issued directed
"to the sheriff or any constable of the county, commanding
"him to bring your petitioner before your Honor, and to arrest
"the person or persons attempting to take your petitioner out
"of this county or State, and bring them before your Honor
"to be dealt with according to law. Petitioner further says
"that he is willing to enter into recognizance in any amount
"to answer any charge against him, and that he will not leave
"the State until his appearance before your Honor, as herein
"requested. Your petitioner further says that he cannot
"attach to the petition a copy of the warrant or process on
"which said conspirators seek to arrest him; and your
"petitioner prays that each and all of the sheriffs, constables,
"and other officers of said State may, upon a copy of this
"order being exhibited to them, be restrained from taking or
"assisting in taking your petitioner out of this county of
"Shawnee without first producing him before your Honor, in
"order that the causes of his arrest may be enquired into.

"S. N. WOOD, *Petitioner.*"

This appeal was responded to as follows:

"IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF SHAWNEE COUNTY.

"In re S. N. Wood, Petitioner.

"The State of Kansas to the Sheriff of Shawnee County, the
Chief of Police of the City of Topeka, or any Constable of
said County:

"Whereas it has been made to appear to us, by the peti-
tion of Samuel N. Wood, duly verified according to law, that
"there is reasonable ground to believe that one W. F. Schell,
"or other persons unknown to said petitioner, will arrest and
"seize the said Wood, and secretly and forcibly carry him be-
"yond the jurisdiction of this court, and the jurisdiction of
"the State, for the purpose of committing violence on the per-
"son of said Wood;

"Now, therefore, we being willing that justice shall be
"done, and that said Wood may be allowed and have accorded
"to him an opportunity, should he be arrested or seized by

" the said W. F. Schell, or any other persons, with or without a warrant, to apply to any judge or court within this county for a writ of *habeas corpus* ;

" Therefore you, and each of you, your deputies or subordinates, are directed and commanded to take into your possession the body of the said S. N. Wood, should he be arrested or seized by the said W. F. Schell, or other person or persons, under color of a warrant or warrants or otherwise, and bring the body of the said Wood before this court, or the judge or judges of any other court sitting within this county, to the end that the cause of his arrest and imprisonment may be inquired into.

" Witness the Hon. John Guthrie, judge of the Third Judicial District, and the seal of the said court hereto affixed by me at my office this 8th day of February, 1891.

[SEAL]

" S. M. GARDENHIRE, *Clerk,*
" By R. H. GAW, *Deputy.*"

If a man ever lived who had respect for processes of law and for courts, and was willing to meet every charge that his worst enemies could bring against him, that man was Samuel N. Wood. He willingly gave bonds for his appearance to answer to the charge upon which this futile attempt to arrest him was based.

" O, why did you do that? If Botkin is returned as judge, they will kill you, and he will dismiss any case that may be made against the murderers." This question was asked him in his boarding-house, as persons who were present will remember. Col. Wood replied, " Judge Botkin will be removed. The Senate will not dare to send him back as judge after the charges against him are proven."

Days and weeks hastened on, and the last evening session of the Legislature was drawing to a close. On this last evening, Hon. W. M. Kenton moved that the rules be suspended, and resolutions relating to impeachment proceedings of Theodosius Botkin be read the second time. The motion prevailed, and the resolutions were read :

" WHEREAS, From an honest regard for the people of the Thirty-second Judicial District, this House has been led to cause articles of impeachment against Theodosius Botkin to be brought before the Senate, and, notwithstanding the distressed financial condition of the whole people, to impose upon the State an expensive impeachment trial in the interest of good government; and

" WHEREAS, Since the *per diem* pay of the members of

" the Legislature ceased for the term under the constitution,
" and while the Legislature could not adjourn with safety to
" the public interest, the Senate, having organized as a court
" of impeachment, at the hour of adjournment each day has
" been going through the farce of resolving itself into a court
" of impeachment, and calling the roll as such before adjourn-
" ment, for the purpose of drawing pay for the day as a court
" of impeachment, and this practice has been continued from
" day to day, while no judicial business whatever was being
" transacted; and

" WHEREAS, We recognize in such action of the Senate
" that want of a proper sense of official integrity, and a blunted
" sense of honesty inconsistent with the discharge of high
" official duties, which is calculated to destroy confidence in
" the results of its judicial action, and making it an instru-
" mentality unsafe to be relied upon for the expression of
" official misdemeanor and to purify the ministry of the law;
" therefore,

" Resolved, That the committee of the House which has
" been appointed to prosecute the impeachment proceedings
" against Theodosius Botkin, at the bar of the Senate, be in-
" structed to enter in said proceedings a *nolle prosequi*, and
" withdraw the impeachment, and proceed no further in the
" matter of said impeachment."

The reading of the above was done in a cool and business-like manner, but it fell upon Col. Wood's heart like a premonition of death. He walked to where his wife was sitting and sat down beside her. There was a look upon his face that it had not worn after that night when he stood by the bed-side of his dying child. With white lips he whispered to Representative Cory, "Will this House pass that resolution? My God! must I protect myself with my rifle?"

That was all. Do not blame him. It was only an uncontrollable outcry of the instinct of self-preservation—a quick, impulsive protest, such as a victim of ancient brutality might have uttered when about to be seized and thrown among wild beasts to be torn and devoured for the amusement of a barbarous assemblage.

The question being, "Shall the resolution be adopted?" the roll was called and resulted, yeas 18, nays 30.

Hon. W. C. Webb said:

"I do not indorse any expression or implication found in
" the preamble which makes any reflection on the character of
" the Senate, either as a Senate or as a court, nor upon the

" members of that body, but as I voted in favor of the passage
" of the bill to abolish the Thirty-second Judicial District, believ-
" ing then that it was a short, a legal, a constitutional, and a
" proper way to settle the whole controversy, and relieve the
" people of that district, which opinion I still entertain, I am
" willing to vote once more to bring the matter to a speedy end.

" I have no doubt but the House, occupying a position
" analogous to that of a public prosecutor, may, if it chooses,
" dismiss or authorize a dismissal of the prosecution by with-
" drawing the authority heretofore given to the managers ap-
" pointed to represent the House in the proposed trial, and
" discharging the managers from any further connection with
" the case. Therefore, I vote in favor of the resolution."

As the result has proved, it would have been better if the House had adopted that resolution. By their failure to adopt it they gave the Senate the opportunity to send Judge Botkin back to the Thirty-second District with their endorsement of the crimes which had been clearly proven against him. Not only this, but their verdict in his favor was an implied assurance that he could pursue his career of crime with impunity.

W. P. Hackney, who was implicated with Botkin in some, or at least one, of his disreputable transactions, was his chief counsel and manager of the defense.

Quoting again from the *Nonconformist*:

" No one knew better than Hackney that Wood had scrupu-
" lously kept his word touching the agreement to take no
" part in the prosecution and the impeachment proceedings
" yet, with this full knowledge, in his speech in Botkin's de-
" fense he attacked Wood with a venom and malignity equaled
" only by its injustice. It was a common remark by everyone
" attendant upon the trial that Hackney's brutal harangue
" was the most uncalled for and disgraceful exhibition of
" partisan spite and spleen that was ever permitted in a court
" of record.

" Why was the attack made, and why was it permitted by
" the Senate?

" When the cuttlefish is in danger it expels a quantity of
" ink provided by nature for the purpose, so that in the black-
" ened waters it may escape from the enemy. So Hackney
" and Botkin (for Hackney was implicated with Botkin in
" robbing the city of Springfield of \$4,000) thought by traduc-
" ing the character and blackening the reputations of other
" men their own crimes would not appear so prominently
" monstrous. In the successful acquittal of Botkin, he and
" his associates in plunder have become emboldened in their
" career of crime.

"W. P. Hackney is as much responsible for this murder as anyone, aside from Botkin and Brennan."

One of the highest judicial officers in the State said, on hearing of his acquittal, "Botkin cannot say that he has been vindicated; he can only say that he has escaped."

The *American Nonconformist* thus summed up the impeachment trial and its result:

"The session of the Legislature developed a bitter partisan spirit, and when after its adjournment the Senate proceeded with the trial of the articles presented by the House, the whole proceeding took on the form of a vicious burlesque of justice and an outrage on common decency. The Senate, forgetting its oath as a court of impeachment, resolved itself practically into a committee of the whole to anathematize and villify the whole House and the People's party. Day after day the chamber rang with the wildest diatribes and invectives against the principles and representative leaders of the new organization. All this bitterness and vindictiveness was focalized and centralized on Col. Wood, without just cause or excuse. There is not in Kansas to-day a sensible man who does not know that the charges against Botkin were abundantly and overwhelmingly sustained. There was scarcely a serious attempt at denial. The only real defense offered was that Botkin was a Republican and the House which presented the impeachment was Alliance. The nation knows the result. The Republican Senate exonerated the Republican judge, and by so doing, officially, as a party, endorsed his actions and became morally and politically responsible for his crimes.

"Emboldened by finding himself thus shamefully sustained and supported by his party, and forgetting his agreement with Wood to bury the hatchet, Judge Botkin and his fellow-criminals began plotting the death of him who had first exposed and denounced their nefarious schemes of robbery and plunder, and they decided that the safest place to commit the murder was in Stevens County, where an impartial jury was impossible."

Judge Botkin was imprudent enough to declare, on different occasions and in the presence of different persons: "If I ever get Sam Wood to Hugoton, he shall never leave that town alive."

Soon after the close of the Legislature Col. Wood returned to his home in Stevens County and busied himself in improving a farm. He said he was working this farm to prove that Southwest Kansas was an excellent farming country. He had

studied out the best methods of farming with reference to seasons of drouth, which many people supposed were to be the rule on the treeless plains of the Southwest. He claimed that deep plowing and subsoiling would form a reservoir to hold water under the surface to promote the growth of crops, while shallow plowing permitted the moisture to escape by evaporation. In the preceding year he had raised good corn, oats and wheat on this farm, while many farmers around him had failed. He felt a pride and enthusiasm in improving and beautifying this place, which he called the model farm of Stevens County. His faith in the ultimate success of Southwestern Kansas as a farming country was unwavering. On the evening of April 29th he made his last political speech in Kansas at Herrington, which, revised and enlarged, was afterwards published as "Wood's Manifesto." In the preparation of this pamphlet and upon other business he made frequent trips to Topeka. He also attended the convention in Cincinnati which organized the People's party; took an active part in its proceedings, and there made one of the best speeches of his life.

He had been a delegate from Kansas to the first National Republican Convention, which convention met in Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1856; had helped to organize that party whose declared mission was resistance to the encroachments of the slave-power, which mission had been nobly fulfilled. Now that a more tyrannical and unscrupulous power—a combination of the money lords of this nation and of Europe—is fast reducing both black and white toilers to a condition of slavery, he felt that his place was again among the organizers of resistance to tyranny; and the earnestness and enthusiasm manifested by the hosts of freemen gathered in that convention filled his soul with unutterable joy and gratitude. From Cincinnati he went, in company with his brother, Stephen M. Wood, of Elmdale, to their old home in Morrow County, Ohio, and to their mother's grave; then returned to Kansas.

His enemies, who had fixed upon the time of his appearance at court in Hugoton to kill him, now not only made no hostile demonstrations, but frequently dropped expressions of good will and friendship for him in the presence of those they knew would repeat their words to him. His faith in the innate worth of human nature always led him to believe and trust

men rather than to suspect them of treachery; and he persuaded himself that Botkin's regard for his own badly damaged reputation and for the tribunal that had acquitted him might be a protection from deadly assault in Hugoton.

One day during the latter part of May, when Col. Wood was not at home, one of the tools of the murderous gang, yet one who professed friendship for Col. Wood, went to his home and told Mrs. Wood that some wolves were prowling about on his farm, and said he wanted to borrow Col. Wood's rifle. He was told that if the rifle should go out of the house, it might be gone at the very time it was most needed. So well had the murderers succeeded in quieting all apprehensions of danger that no one suspected at the time that this was only a ruse to disarm their intended victim. When Herman Cann, then sheriff of Stevens County, was asked on the evening after the tragedy if he had suspected their designs, he answered: "No; if anyone had asked me this morning if Col. Wood's life would be in danger here to-day, I would have said, 'No; he will be as safe in Hugoton as he would be at Plymouth Church in Brooklyn.'"

One of the last acts of his professional life was a trip to Springfield, Seward County, thirty miles from home, and sitting up all night at a hotel in Springfield to prepare a bill of exceptions, in an alleged criminal case, for the Supreme Court. This was one of many instances in which Judge Botkin's prejudices had seemed to affect his decision to the extent of injustice. It was taken to the Supreme Court, and when reached by that tribunal was promptly reversed, as other similar decisions by him had been. Col. Wood left Springfield before daylight; slept an hour at Moscow, and arrived at home sick and exhausted from fatigue and loss of sleep. Some one said, "You ought to be well paid for such work as that." He answered, "I really do not expect pay for it; the other lawyers will charge him more than he is able to pay;" then added, "O, I get sick at heart sometimes, when I see poor men in trouble employing lawyers who just rob them by charging such unmerciful fees. It is cruel to rob men in that way, and it's hard on their families."

On one occasion, when attending court in Seward County, a man who was charged with some criminal offense was pre-

paring, late in the evening, to walk home, a distance of some seven miles. Col. Wood said to him, "You ought not to leave; your case comes up to-morrow morning; who is your lawyer?" He replied that he had no lawyer, because he had no money to employ one. Col. Wood said: "That will never do; the first thing you know you will be in the penitentiary. You stay here, and I'll help you out." The man told him he had no money to pay a hotel bill, and could not stay; and Col. Wood called the landlord and told him to keep this man and he would pay the bill. When this case was called on the following day, he appeared for the defendant, and soon had it dismissed. His grateful client said: "Col. Wood, I have no money now, but will be able to pay you some time; how much is your fee?" He replied: "If you ever have any money that your family don't need, you can pay me whatever you think is right." The above incident was related to the writer by strangers, not by him, and is but one of many similar cases.

During some five years, in Southwest Kansas, life was a struggle against hard circumstances. There were several successive failures of crops, which, in addition to the inevitable expenses of moving west and making and improving new homes and farms, reduced many families to the verge of want. Many of these people will remember forever the gifted and generous lawyer who was always ready to listen patiently to their recitals of trouble and advise and help them through their legal difficulties free of charge.

He always tried to make peace between neighbors and induce them to adjust their differences, though losing fees for himself, rather than permit them to involve themselves in expensive litigation. There was a law-suit between two Catholics, about the ownership of a calf, which had been appealed from a lower court, and kept running until the costs amounted to over \$300; and he was at last engaged by one of the litigants. He tried to effect a compromise, but failed, and sought the aid of the priest, who, with his assistance, examined the case and ordered that the costs and the value of the calf be equally divided between them, and the suit withdrawn. The orders of the priest were promptly obeyed.

One more of his many unselfish deeds may be given here, with the request that the officers of the Santa Fé Railroad will

not read it if they happen to see this book. When he lived in Elmdale, Chase County, a young man came to his door one evening from a freight train which had just come from the west. He was pale and trembled with weakness, and a despairing appeal looked from his eyes as he said, "Will you please give me something to eat? I am very hungry." "Yes; come in; you shall have something to eat," was the answer.

He had been in New Mexico with a Santa Fé construction train, in the capacity of assistant cook; had been sick, and got back to Pueblo, where he worked for a time in a hotel, shaking every other day with the ague, until his money was all gone for medical advice and prescriptions. In this extremity he was making a desperate effort to "beat his way" to Kansas City, where he had friends. There was a protuberance between his shoulders, from an injury to the spine which had been caused by an accident, and this disability greatly aggravated his afflicted condition.

Supper was soon ready, and when Colonel Wood sat by that young man at the table and waited on him, he felt supremely blessed, although he had not asked a blessing. He never did. He always appeared more anxious to bless somebody else than to get blessings for himself; and he held—without making any public declaration of his creed—that sharing one's food with the hungry was a more imperative duty and a more holy ordinance than partaking of bread and wine at the "table of the Lord" in a church. Perhaps this was not the most popular way of commemorating the love of Christ, but it was S. N. Wood's way and suited him best.

When, later in the evening, the head-light of a freight train was seen coming down the Cottonwood Valley, the stranger said, "I must go," thanked his friends, and bade them good-bye; but Col. Wood said, "No; you are too sick and weak to ride in those rough, cold cars; you must stay with us to-night and get a good sleep. I am going to Topeka to-morrow, and I'll try to get you down to Kansas City on the passenger train." The poor fellow said he did not want to give him any trouble, but was told that it would be less trouble to know that he was comfortable than to think about him suffering all night in a cold freight car; he concluded to remain, and in the morning said he felt better from his night's rest

and breakfast. Col. Wood had not money enough at the time to pay his fare even to Topeka, but he quietly related the case to the conductor, who said, "All right." He reached Kansas City that evening—how, neither the conductor nor Col. Wood ever explained.

S. N. Wood's life was so filled with kind deeds that he seemed not to notice or remember them. He was always so busy that he had no time to dwell upon little incidents that happened by the way; but those who knew him best can not help thinking now that one of the sweet surprises that came to him in the new, immortal life must have been the record, in characters of imperishable beauty, of these kindly deeds that in the rush and hurry of life had been swept out of his memory.

How can I cease to think of thee!

How can I cease to pray,

"O true, brave heart! God bless thee,

Wheresoe'er in His great universe thou art to-day!"

Some ten days before his death we made our last trip together to Topeka. He was busily engaged on "Wood's Manifesto"—getting it ready for the printer. He had decided to leave Stevens County; and a pleasant furnished room in the Metsker block was engaged for his use and occupancy when he would be in Topeka, until a home could be secured and a removal effected. He said: "We are growing old; we need each other; we must settle down where we can live quietly and be together more."

Is it true that "coming events cast their shadows before"? He said: "How good it seems to be among old friends in Topeka! They never seemed so near to me before." His last evening in Topeka was spent in the pleasant home and society of Judge W. C. Webb and his family. Later in the evening he had a long talk with some of his friends and political associates, in the Dutton House. Hon. Joseph Sharpe said to him: "Don't go to Stevens County; they will kill you." Col. Wood told Mr. Sharpe that he had spent some years in the work of making Kansas a free State, and it was his right and privilege to go wherever he chose; and that, as he felt compelled to go anyway, he would go unarmed, and he could not think there would be any trouble. When he bade

them good-night and walked out of the room, Mr. Sharpe said to his companions, "That is the last we will ever see of Sam Wood." In Chase County he was again entreated by old friends to stay away from Southwestern Kansas, but his answer was, "I am under bonds to appear at court. I shall go unarmed; I do not apprehend any trouble, but I must go anyway."

He had for several years carried a small pistol, and if he had it with him when he was surprised by a fatal shot in the back, it might as well have been many miles away, as he did not make the least attempt to get it to defend himself.

His last night in Chase County was spent at the home of his brother-in-law, E. W. Pinkston, near Cedar Point, and on Saturday we took the Santa Fé train for Hartland, where, on Sunday morning, with the horse and buggy which we had left there, we started home to Woodsdale, in Stevens County.

Looking backward from the rough and lonely paths of to-day, that pleasant ride seems to have been through an enchanted land—a garden of Hesperides. Every word and incident and look shines through the intervening gloom, as the memory of the dear light of home comes to the lost wanderer in darkness and storm.

During much of the journey he was silent,—seemingly lost in his own thoughts,—and when asked, "Why don't you talk to me?" he would make an effort at conversation, would talk for a short time, then again become silent. When asked, "Do you think there will be any trouble at Hugoton?" he replied, "No, probably not; but I must go there anyway, and if there is trouble, it will come soon enough; don't talk about it."

On Monday evening, June 22d, when asked by a neighbor, "Is Mrs. Wood going to Hugoton to morrow?" he answered "Yes, she will go with me; if they kill me, I want her there to close my eyes."

Many friends had warned and entreated him not to go to Hugoton, but he replied to one and all, "I never pick quarrels with anyone; I do not apprehend any danger, but I should not hesitate to go if I knew there was danger. My friends who have gone on my bond shall not be compelled to pay it. Whether there is danger or not, I shall go."

If his sons, David Wood, in Colorado, and William L.

Wood, in Chase County, Kansas, who were devotedly attached to their father, had known the circumstances, they would have paid that bond, or would have gone with an armed force of men to protect him; but, to avoid giving them trouble, he would not apprise them of the situation.

Why did he go to Hugoton?

Why did the greatest man of ancient Rome, perhaps the greatest of all the ancient world, go to that meeting of the Senate in the ides of March, 44 B. C., only to fall, murdered—the victim of a foul conspiracy—at the feet of the statue of Pompeius?

Why did Elijah P. Lovejoy remain at Alton?

Why did Gen. Nathaniel Lyon place himself, instead of a subordinate, at the head of the Kansas Second, at Wilson's Creek?

In vain we question unrelenting fate. The Sphinx is silent.

"If we could push ajar the gates of life,
And stand within, and all God's workings see,
We could interpret all this doubt and strife,
And for each mystery could find a key."



CHAPTER XII.

A Mirage.—“To Friends Above from Fiends Below.”—A Sampson Slain.—Homeward.—Funeral Ceremonies.

On the treeless plains of the Southwest a mirage often brings far-distant and hidden scenes within the range of human vision. This phenomenon in the physical world has its correspondence in the realm of mind; visions of far-distant coming events may sometimes cast their shadows, even upon the sensitive mind of a child.

A MIRAGE OF FATE.

In the far-away years of my childhood,
Wandering in dream-land alone,
On vague, misty paths in dim wildwood,
A demon of Fate led me on
Where the mystical realm of seeming,
By the footstep of mortal untrod,
Nears the fateful light that falls gleaming
On souls, from the high throne of God;
Strange visions of destiny gleaming
On souls, from the dread throne of God.

Back into the silence unending
Pale loved ones had vanished and gone;
And that angel of iron attending—
That demon of Fate leading on—
Revealed me—O God! I remember
As though 'twere but yesterday seen—
As if felled by a blast of December,
A tree, strong, stately, and green;
A tree lying prone, I remember,
More grand than earth ever had seen.

Near the tree where it fell in its glory,
A vile creature, bloated with crime,
Repulsive and brutal and hoary,
And reeking with murder's red slime,
Rejoiced at the glory departed;
And hell's dark murderous sea,
And vilest of cowards, black-hearted,
Rejoiced at the fall of the tree;
Rejoiced they like ghouls, craven-hearted,
At the fall of the glorious tree.

But somehow the tree, in its falling,
 Had crushed out the life of my soul;
 And mournfully sad voices, calling
 Like funeral bells when they toll,
 Joined with me in anguish bewailing
 The tree,—their strong refuge and mine;
 And our cries floated up where, unfailing,
 God's vengeance and justice divine
 Falls swift upon evil, entailing
 Full measure for their woe and mine.

Walking on in a path lone and dreary,
 Its end was a dark river's brink—
 The one that holds rest for the weary,
 And release from earth's sorrows. I think
 When its magical waves rise to meet me,
 A glimpse of a sweet home I'll see,
 And with welcome approaching to greet me
 Will be one who fell like the tree.
 O, rejoice when he comes to meet me—
 The loved one foretold by the tree!

WOODSDALE, KANSAS, June 24, 1891.

"Editor of Topeka Democrat:

"The work of the Kansas State Senate is completed. My husband, Colonel S. N. Wood, was murdered in my presence yesterday. The brave, true heart is still in death.

"You remember the attempt of O'Connor and Aurel, of Hugoton, to arrest him last winter on a charge of bribery. He gave a bond to appear at court in Hugoton this month. A number of our neighbors went with us to Hugoton, though no one seemed to apprehend any trouble. We reached Hugoton not later than 10:30 o'clock, and as soon as it was known that we had come, Judge Botkin adjourned court until 2 P. M.

"Colonel Wood drove our buggy with Mrs. Carpenter and myself to the door of the church—which was used as a courthouse—and left us sitting in the buggy and went in to examine the docket. While he was in the room O'Connor and two or three others came into the vestibule or entry. One man remained leaning against the outside door, which was wide open. He had his right hand in a pocket at his side or back. O'Connor and another man walked toward the main street with their heads close together, as though whispering. Judge Botkin came out and said, "Hello, Jimmy," then he stepped to our buggy and shook hands with Mrs. Carpenter and myself in a very friendly manner, though I had never met him before; and then walked toward the main street.

"The man, Jim Brennan, still remained leaning against the door. Colonel Wood came out of the court-room into the vestibule, and stepped out upon the ground. As he did so he turned his back to Brennan, when Brennan quickly drew his pistol and shot him in the back or left shoulder. Colonel Wood raised his hands, looked around, and ran along the side toward the west of the church. Brennan ran after him and shot him again in the back. I had gotten out of the buggy and was trying to get between them, and had almost reached my husband when Brennan put the pistol close to his face and shot him through his head ; he fell, and died in about fifteen minutes.

"A crowd soon collected, among them Judge Botkin and O'Connor. Sheriff Cann attempted to arrest Brennan, but he resisted Cann with a pistol in each hand. Attorney B. E. Johnson caught Sheriff Cann's hand and pushed it down, telling him not to shoot. Brennan said he would not surrender to Cann, but he would let Sheriff Frank Weir, of Morton County, take him. Judge Botkin ordered Weir to take charge of Brennan, and he did so. In about an hour Brennan was at liberty on the street.

"In the meantime, Judge Botkin stated to the crowd that there would be no more court; that court would be adjourned for this term.

"O'Connor swore out a warrant before Davis, a justice of the peace, and Constable Aurel arrested Brennan. He was then taken, by Aurel, Weir, and other friends of his, to Morton County. His preliminary examination is set for some time in July.

"This Jim Brennan has been for more than a year a devoted friend and attaché of Judge Botkin, attending court at different places with him, and has been at every meeting of our county commissioners, armed, and in the room with them, ever since the beginning of the county commissioner and county attorney contests.

"These facts have been given me by men who witnessed them. My husband was dying, and I did not watch the crowd. There is not the least doubt that this murder was planned by Judge Botkin, O'Connor, and other citizens of Hugoton. Every circumstance confirms this conclusion. One incident I will give : A little son of ex-Judge Nash said in the presence of Mrs. Fleming, of Ulysses, as we drove into town : 'There comes Sam Wood, and they are going to kill him to-day.' A girl quickly told him to keep still ; that he was 'talking too much.'

"Some men with whom I talked in Topeka last winter will remember that I told them if Judge Botkin was not removed

" from this district, my husband would be killed and the murderer would have judicial protection.

" The members of the Kansas State Senate who voted to " sustain Botkin and the Governor—who covertly labored in " his behalf—are responsible for the murder of Col. Sam Wood. " His blood will be required of them.

" I have not the slightest hope that any of these murderers, " whether in official or unofficial stations, will ever be brought " to justice. But I know, and thank God, that His eternal " justice never fails.

" I shall try to be patient and strong.

" I can only hope and pray that time may fly swiftly, and " that 'we shall not be sundered long.'

" MRS. S. N. WOOD."

Over seventeen months have passed, and the charges against the parties named in the foregoing letter have been fully sustained by evidence, which can be produced when required. Not only this, but the lines of the conspiracy, which culminated in that deed of blood, have been traced. They reach from different directions—some of them from the capital of the State of Kansas. There is a well-authenticated list of the names of the principals—the instigators of this crime and of their accessories. It includes men who live in Hugoton and at other places; the man who prepared the pistol for the deadly assault, and the man who telegraphed to him to come to Hugoton to be there on that day.

The dead body was borne into the church, and after some delay, a coroner's inquest was conducted by men of whom some were implicated in the murder and knew it was to take place, and who could not well conceal their satisfaction at their success. And then S. N. Wood's dead body was borne to his home in Woodsdale, and prepared by friendly hands for burial.

In the history of "The Rise and Fall of the American Slave Power," by Hon. Henry Wilson, we read concerning the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy, at Alton, Illinois, on November 7, 1837:

" Mr. Lovejoy's body was borne to his home amid the " heartless rejoicings and scoffings of those who had destroyed " his property and taken his life."

S. N. Wood's murderers not only exulted and rejoiced over his dying agonies and over his dead body, but they after-

wards indulged in a drunken carousal of fiendish rejoicing over their success.

On the floor of the church a great pool of blood left a stain so deep that no amount of washing could remove it. No Sunday school or church services were held and no prayers were offered while it remained. It was finally cut out and replaced by new flooring, the seams of which still mark the spot where S. N. Wood's life-blood fell upon the floor of a den of murderers. Far more lasting is the stain, thinly hidden by lies and effrontery, which is impelling each soul with unrelenting certainty to the murderer's doom.

The following dispatch was sent to the Associated Press :
"WOODSDALE, KAN., [via Liberal,] June 25.—Colonel S. N. Wood will be buried at Cottonwood Falls, Chase County. The funeral cortege will leave here at 4 P. M. to-day for Hartland; thence by the Santa Fé to Cottonwood Falls. The burial will probably take place on Saturday forenoon."

Near sunset on June 25 there were simple funeral ceremonies at the home; some short addresses were made by neighbors and friends; one by Dr. Robert Furnas, as follows :

" Sampson said, ' Let me die with the Philistines,' and he bowed himself with all his might and the house fell. This was at a time when the lords of the Philistines had gathered themselves together to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon, their god. They had called Sampson to make sport of him, and when the house fell, it fell upon the people therein.

" So the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life.

" Does this need comment? He who lies before us was truly a Sampson, morally, intellectually, and physically. He had slain many of the lords of the Philistines in his life, but when he bowed himself for the last time to the Philistines of that temple, he slew more at the time of his death than he had slain in his life."

Under the light of the setting sun the funeral cortege of six carriages moved northward past the farm to which he had become so warmly attached. Onward over the rolling prairies, under the soft moonlight, the little procession moved until Ulysses was reached, where the sad company rested for an hour, then moved onward again, reaching Hartland at 7:30 on the morning of the 26th. Here a band of musicians played a funeral march while the Santa Fe train stopped and received and bore away the mortal body of S. N. Wood and the friends

who attended it to the old home in Chase County. At Garden City, one of Col. Wood's sons, William L. Wood, of Strong City, got on the train, having ridden in the night from Liberal, a distance of eighty miles, by private conveyance, to meet his mother and accompany her on this saddest of all journeys. A large concourse of people were at the depot, and some of them rode on the train to points further east. At other stations old friends appeared and spoke words of respect for the departed and sympathy for the bereaved ones. At one station the conductor of the train brought in this telegram to Mrs. Wood from her daughter, Mrs. James W. Abbott, of Ouray, Colorado :

“STRONG CITY, June 26, '92.

“Mother, we are here waiting for you,—David, Fanny,
“Marie, and your Florence.”

At Newton, Deputy U. S. Marshal Ed Short, who had come up from Oklahoma to meet this train, came on board. His sorrow at the loss of his old friend was deep and sincere. He said Col. Wood had been a true friend to him, and more like a father than any one he had known after his own father died; and that if he had known that Col. Wood was compelled to go Hugoton, he would have come prepared to go with him and protect him.*

On this train were six pall-bearers from the Woodsdale Lodge, I. O. O. F., of which Col. Wood was a member; viz.: J. C. Gerrond, L. Farmer, W. P. McClure, J. J. Smith, E. M. Watrous, and J. E. Thomas, the first two of whom acted as pall-bearers at the funeral and burial; also D. J. M. Wood, Indian agent, of Ponca, Indian Territory, and Jonathan Wood, of Herington, brothers of Colonel Wood. Strong City was reached at midnight, where old neighbors, friends, and relatives met and extended loving sympathy to the living and showed tender care and consideration for the dead.

The *Chase County Courant* gave the following account of the funeral services and burial:

* Ed Short was an important witness against the Cross murderers, and they were his enemies. Just two months from the day Col. Wood was killed Short was fatally shot by a prisoner, Ed Bryant, one of the Dalton gang, whom he had arrested in Oklahoma and was taking to Wichita by railroad. Short took up his Winchester and shot his assailant four times; then fell and died. His last words were, "I wish I could see mother." His prisoner died at the same time

"On arrival at the Strong City depot the remains were taken to the Hall of Felix Lodge, I. O. O. F., of that city, "of which lodge Col. Wood had been a member, and they "remained there until 1 o'clock that afternoon, at which time "they were taken thence and conveyed to the Presbyterian "church in Cottonwood Falls, escorted by the Odd Fellows "of this city and Strong City, and followed by a very long "funeral cortege, the pall-bearers being J. C. Gerrond and L. "Farmer, of the Woodsdale Lodge; G. K. Hagan and H. A. "Chamberlain, of Felix Lodge, Strong City; John Zimmer- "man and Wm. Couger, of Angola Lodge, Cottonwood Falls. "Because of the heavy weight of the casket, zinc and wooden "boxes, and their contents, C. I. Maule and G. W. Crum, of "Felix Lodge, were appointed to assist in bringing the re- "mains down stairs from the Felix Lodge room. On arrival at "the church the remains were not taken from the hearse be- "cause the casket in which they were contained was sealed "in a zinc box; but those in attendance entered the church, "which had, long before the hour appointed for the services "to begin, been well filled with people from this town and "from near and distant parts of the county, who had come "hither to pay their respects to an old settler of Chase County, "a pioneer of Kansas, a man who perhaps had been to them "a tried and true friend in season and out of season, or per- "haps with whom they had bitter contentions in years long "gone, the wounded feelings from which had been healed "over and forgotten by the lapse of years, and the thoughts "of the good that was in the man who had lived so long in "their very midst, and without whose name no history of "Kansas, or even of Chase County, would be complete, and "by their presence at his funeral thus give expression to "their most heart-felt feelings of condemnation of the manner "of his death, and show to his widow and children that the "people of this county have hearts and sympathize with them "in their sudden and sad bereavement. Among the mourn- "ers, besides the relatives of the deceased whom we have al- "ready mentioned, we noticed Hon. S. M. Wood, a brother "of the deceased, and wife, of Elmdale; Wm. L. Wood, a son "of the deceased, and wife, of Fox Creek; Judge W. C. Webb "and wife; Colonel A. M. Mackey, a law partner of the "deceased; J. C. Soule, editor of the *Kansas Farmer*; J. E. "Limeburner, manager of the Topeka *Advocate*; J. S. Mersted, "manager of the Postal Telegraph System; and Hon. W. F. "Rightmire, all of Topeka; E. Lindsey, reporter of the Kan- "sas City *Star*; Prof. C. Vincent, of Winfield; and Judge F. "Doster, of Marion. The church was crowded to its utmost "capacity, and many had to remain outside.

"When all had been seated in the church, the services

" were begun by F. P. Cochran, Master of Ceremonies of An-gola Lodge, I. O. O. F., of which lodge the deceased had " been a member, announcing a funeral anthem by the choir, " consisting of Misses Stella Kerr and Anna K. Lockwood, and " E. D. Replogle and E. F. Holmes, with Mrs. J. H. Mercer as " organist, at the conclusion of which Col. A. M. Mackey read " a farewell letter of Col. Wood to his family, written about " five years ago, when the Colonel was very sick and did not " expect to get well."

The following is the letter referred to above:

To My Family:

" Let my funeral be as quiet as possible. I do not want " any show or parade. Would prefer if no show were made of " my body. Don't wear any mourning. I am not dead. " What you see of me is only my body, for which I no longer " have any use, and I cast it off as I would a suit of old clothes. " I wish there were a furnace where it could be reduced to " ashes and thus dissolve itself into its original elements, and " not have to be buried, filling the air with noxious gases, en-dangering the lives of the living. You can bury only my " body. I have departed from it, as life always departs from " death. I am with you. I witness your every act. Cheer " up; death is only transition; man, though apparently " dead, still lives, lives as a conscious, distinct entity. I feel, " as I write this, no concern for the future. I am persuaded by " study and research that life in the spiritual world commences " where it ends here; hence the advantages of well-spent lives, " full of good works. I believe in no death-bed repentance; as " I said, we must commence there where we quit here. I have " tried to believe the dogmas of the churches, but the more I " have tried and the harder I have investigated, the stronger I " am convinced they are not true, but rather a cunningly de-vised scheme of the priesthood to live upon the people. " Since God sentenced mankind to 'eat bread in the sweat of " their own brows,' it has been a struggle to make somebody " else do the sweating. Heaven and hell are conditions, not " places. God should be spelled with two 'o's' (Good); devil " without a 'd' (evil). In fact, I reject all the dogmas of the " churches. My religion is a sincere desire to do right—to do " the most possible good in this world. I believe sincerely in " the 'fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.' As I " have lived, so I am willing to die. For these reasons I want " no religious ceremonies over my body; no priest or pastor " or minister to officiate. Let the dead, as it were, bury the " dead, and look after the living. Let ministers and churches " quit worrying themselves about the after-life and go to work " and solve the problems of this life. If possible, prepare the

" people to live here ; teach us our duty to each other and to
" mankind.

" I cannot conceive any commencement of this world. I
" cannot conceive its end. Generations may come and go, but
" the earth will continue forever.

" Matter and spirit may change their form, but there is no
" such thing as annihilation. I firmly believe in a future life
" —or rather, I know there is a future life.

" But I must quit. I hail the separation from the body,
" called death, as a joyful change.

" Read this, if you will, as the reason for rejecting all cere-
" monies at my funeral.

" I realize the hardship in parting with friends here, but I
" have hosts on the other side waiting for me.

" I am, beloved, yours, S. N. Wood."

The choir then sang " Shall We Gather at the River?" This was followed by an address by Maj. D. J. M. Wood, a brother of the deceased, who said:

" My Friends: I can only do for him what I would have
" wished him to do for me. We have been called together
" upon an occasion where mysteries are very dark. My
" brother has been sent into another world by the hand of
" an assassin. I believe as he did, that there is no death ; it is
" simply transition. Life is but a narrow vale between two
" eternities. We strive to look beyond the heights. We cry
" aloud, and an answer comes : ' We live forever.' The body
" dies ; the spirit never, for spirit is life. We who are on
" earth cannot behold them, but spirit sees all things. We
" enter the summer-land just where we leave this, and then on
" and on in one eternal development, growing in the truth
" and living in the light and coming into more light. A part
" of us are on this shore, a part on the bright shore of the
" spirit-land. As our minds are cultivated here, so they are
" cultivated there, only in a greater ratio. Here we have our
" environments of flesh and all of its allurements. There and
" then we are disentangled and progress much more rapidly.
" If we are truly large-hearted and true and loving in our
" natures, we go right on growing in the spirit. If we neglect
" the great issues of life and yield to passion and immorality,
" we go right on in these conditions. The body dies and goes
" to dust, and the spirit to God, home, friends, and a truer,
" purer life. As we are spiritually-minded and fitted to com-
" prehend this wondrous life, we know heaven is now in our
" hearts. We then can feel in a peculiar manner the presence
" of our friends and relatives, our loved ones. They are all
" around us. Did you ever have the glad experience to know
" they were near ; to feel their arms around you ; to feel a kiss

" upon your cheek and hear the glad message in your ear, the " evidence of a glorious immortality? If not, it is because " you cannot clearly comprehend the spirit and life and eter- " nity. My brother is not in the casket. It contains only his " body. He is with us to-day, and sees us all. No, he is not " dead. No bullet can kill intelligence, spirit, and life. He " hears us speak; there is no death; it is life, and life " throughout eternity. We have been taught that death is " dark and drear. To him who understands life, death (so " called) is but a happy release from trial and affliction. Par- " don me, my friends, if I say I loved my brother. In every " storm of life this noble and tender man was firm as a rock, " and gentle as a child. His hand was ever ready and open " to relieve the poor and distressed. He would say:

" Farewell, friends—yet not farewell;
Where I am ye too shall dwell.
I am gone before your face
A moment's time—a little space.
When ye come where I have stepped,
Ye will wonder why ye wept;
Ye will know, by wise love taught,
That here is all and there is naught.
Weep awhile, if ye are fain,—
Sunshine still must follow rain,—
Only not at death, for death,
Now I know, is that first breath
Which our souls draw when we enter
Life, which is of all life the center.
Be ye certain all seems love
Viewed from our Father's throne above.
Be ye stout of heart, and come
Bravely onward to your home.'"

The "Home of the Soul," that solemn and exultant affirmation of the spirit's immortality, was here given by the choir with unusual pathos and effect.

Judge W. C. Webb, who had known the Colonel for twenty-five years and who had heard of him forty years ago, then delivered a short address, in which he briefly and eloquently spoke of Colonel Wood's early years in the political field, and of his unwavering devotion to whatever he was convinced was right.

Then followed an address by Hon. W. F. Rightmire, of Topeka, who said:

" Friends, at the request of the companion of our dear " friend, who alone knows of the friendship that existed " between Col. S. N. Wood and myself, I shall speak of him " as I have known him during the few years of our acquaint-

" ance. When I came to Kansas, about four years ago, I
" knew nothing of the history of Kansas, save as it was con-
" nected with the general history of our nation; and when I
" made a study of the individual history of this State, and
" learned of the heroes who upon the soil of Kansas had
" waged the battle for liberty, and consecrated it as the home
" of freemen, I found one of the grandest names of all was the
" name of Samuel N. Wood. I learned from the history of
" your State to admire and revere him. We may say of him,

" 'For thou art Freedom's now and Fame's;
One of the few immortal names
That were not born to die.'

" His name cannot be forgotten while the history of Kan-
" sas is read among men. His heroic deeds stand forth upon
" its pages in golden characters. His name will be revered
" and loved as long as mankind cherishes a love for the brave
" and noble spirits who toil for freedom for the oppressed.

" Thus through the history of your State I learned of S. N.
" Wood. I learned through the denunciations and abuse of
" political opponents of his steadfast adherence to the cause of
" freedom, and of his freedom from the control of partisan
" politics; and this was my second acquaintance with him.

" In July of 1888 I came here to make my home in your
" city, and while a stranger to nearly all of you, my youngest
" child was stricken down with disease. Among the kind
" friends who aided us in administering to the child were the
" wives of some of the pioneers of Kansas and of Chase County;
" and as we watched together by the bedside of the sick child,
" those mothers of Kansas relieved the long hours of watching
" by relating their experiences of the hardships and privations
" of pioneer life on the frontier of Kansas, and they each and
" all recited different instances where S. N. Wood in the cabins
" of the pioneers, or in meetings upon the trails, had proven
" himself a kind ministering angel, as with open hand he dis-
" tributed food and clothing or provided medical attendance
" to those who were suffering and pecuniarily unable to pro-
" vide for themselves, and when instances were recited of
" making a hospital of his house, for the sick and afflicted, and
" of the kind ministrations of his wife and children, I formed my
" third acquaintance with S. N. Wood; and said in confidence
" to my wife that from what we had learned of the deeds of
" Col. Wood, he must be a person of noble manhood, as evi-
" denced by his God-like charity.

" At our November (1888) term of court I became person-
" ally acquainted with Col. S. N. Wood, and I am happy to-day
" to say that our acquaintance quickly ripened into friend-
" ship, and I learned to rely upon his counsels, and to love
" him as tenderly as though he were my elder brother; and

" while I to-day shed the tears of sorrow over his untimely
" departure from us, yet while life lasts he will forever remain
" enshrined in memory's holiest sanctuary, as I recall those
" many interviews in the privacy of my office, where he and I
" have sat for hours while he talked of 'the fatherhood of
" God and the brotherhood of man,' and planned how to strike
" more sturdy blows for liberty and the relief of our industrial
" masses from the tyranny of monopolistic plutocracy.

" On Thursday night, June 18, 1891, Col. Wood, Mrs.
" Wood, and I left Topeka at 12:15 o'clock; they to go to
" Woodsdale, and I to go to Burlington by the way of Em-
" poria. While waiting for the train at the depot in Topeka,
" I tried to persuade our friend not to go to Hugoton, telling
" him of the danger, and of the great loss that would ensue to
" the cause of liberty should he be stricken down. After
" stating that he believed my fears were groundless, he said:
" 'Even if I believed that I would lose my life by going to
" Hugoton, I am under bonds to go there, and before I would
" allow my friends to suffer by a default on my bond, I would
" go.' We gave each other the parting hand in Emporia,
" expecting to meet in Topeka the first of July, and to go to
" Missouri and Ohio together, to labor in the cause of human-
" ity. Our parting was final; he has 'put off mortality and
" put on immortality.' Writers have said that 'Man is mortal,
" but his deeds are immortal.' While this may be true of the
" elements that compose our bodies, the spirit is immortal, and
" can never die; and while for Brother Wood the veil that
" guarded the portals of this earthly life has been rent in twain
" and he has entered upon immortality, the influence of his
" example and the record of his life will be with this State
" and nation for their good, and will exist forever.

" While we are considering the change that has come upon
" our brother, believing as he did, and as I think we all
" believe, I can safely say that though he has assumed another
" form, his presence is still with us, and he is here in spirit,
" only that he has assumed a nobler and fairer form, and the
" influence of his life and the memory of his deeds will ever be
" with us, to guide us onward to a nobler, purer, and better
" manhood. What did this great change in our brother sig-
" nify? We see a drop of dew upon a blade of grass in the
" early morn; it seems to us evanescent, but when the bright
" sun of morning sheds its rays upon that drop of dew,
" it becomes transformed into a bright and shining jewel
" before it vanishes from our sight, and it seems to me that
" these short, fleeting lives of ours are, as it were, but dew-
" drops on the morn of time; and when the veil of the portal
" which we call death has been rent in twain, and the bright

" sun of immortality shines upon these ephemeral dew-drops
" of our lives, they become bright and shining jewels.

" And now, friends, in closing this brief tribute to our dear
" friend, what have been the strongest principles and the most
" loving traits in his character? It seems to me that the
" most noble trait in his character was his sympathy for and
" his labors in behalf of the oppressed. Devoting himself to
" the cause of liberty in his early manhood, his whole life was
" given to the service of the poor and lowly, and it became the
" object of his life that wherever a human being was op-
" pressed, that one became his brother and secured his utmost
" efforts to break the chains of the oppressor. To those who
" knew him best, he will ever be remembered as a symbol of
" charity, ever ready to deprive himself that he might relieve
" the poor and the needy. While for him life and earthly
" things have been left behind, we who know him best will
" ever love him most, and as he had intended to devote the re-
" mainder of his life to the welfare of humanity, let us profit
" by his example and dedicate our lives to the cause so dear
" to him; and may we each embalm within our hearts the name
" and fame of Col. Wood, that they may aid us in leading
" purer and nobler lives. It may be said that he

" Enshrined in Kansas glory lives,
In fairer fame than flesh and clay,
The purer fame that history gives."

" In conclusion, let us resolve to live like Col. Wood, and
" to so live 'that when our summons comes to join the in-
" numerable caravan that moves to that mysterious realm
" where each must take his portion in the silent halls of
" death, we go not like the quarry-slave at night, scourged to
" his dungeon,' but that we may be prepared to lay by the
" cares and duties of mortality, and with joy and gladness
" enter upon the new duties of the life that awaits us beyond
" the shores of time."

The services at the church were concluded by the hymn
"God Be with You till We Meet Again."

The funeral procession was the longest that ever left this city, and the remains were laid to rest in Prairie Grove Cemetery, west of this city, beside those of his daughter, El Dearie Wood.

When the casket had been lowered to its final home, Judge Frank Doster, standing by the open grave of his old friend and professional associate, said :

" *My Friends:* My heart is sore from two griefs to-day.
" Within the past few days I followed my aged mother to the

"grave, and I am in no fit condition to endure the load of
"an added sorrow such as I feel to-day.

"I knew this man, whose mortal parts we are committing
"to the tomb, for twenty years or more, and outside the death
"of a member of my own family, I have not experienced, nor
"could experience, a grief more poignant than I feel at his
"cruel taking off. He was my friend,—my professional friend,
"my political friend, my personal friend,—and whatever the
"sinister tongue of scandal may have said of him, or the evil
"thoughts of enemies may have conjured him to be, he was to
"all who knew him as he could be known—as they might
"have learned him—everything that is implied in that word
"most nearly sacred of all words, a friend.

"I first met him twenty years ago. He helped me try my
"first law-suit in the courts of Kansas, and, though coming
"into the case after it was largely over with, won it for me.
"From thence on, our contact and intercourse was frequent,
"and on his part kindly and generous, and now that the tragedy
"of life with him has closed in the more grievous but no
"greater tragedy of death, to me at least

"His virtues plead like angels, trumpet-tongued,
Against the deep damnation of his taking off.'

"Desiring to pay my tribute of respect to his memory and
"to condole with his stricken family, I left my home in time
"to be present at all the ceremonies of his funeral, but my
"train was delayed, and I arrived at the close of the services
"just held at the church, and only in time to follow him with
"his sorrowing friends to the cemetery. Could I have known
"that the exercises, as arranged for, admitted of remarks by
"his professional associates, expressive of their knowledge
"and appreciation of him, and had I arrived in time, I would
"have loved to add my words to those who gave their testi-
"monials of respect and friendship before coming to the place
"of interment. The circumstances now forbid, except in the
"briefest language, and I cannot, now that I look into this
"yawning grave, control myself well enough to do so.

"Let me speak, however, of one circumstance which
"furnishes an index to the character and spirit of the man. I
"last saw him at the recent term of your court, and warned
"him to remain away from the southwestern counties; that his
"murder was imminent—probably contemplated. He told me
"he was compelled to go, that he was under bond to appear
"at the district court, and he must go to save his bondsmen
"—his friends. The honorable keeping of that obligation, in
"the face of premeditated assassination, furnishes a key for
"the unlocking of the manhood of S. N. Wood's nature, and I
"say, from a score of years' acquaintance with him, that it was
"but the last in a lifetime of redeemed promises.

" He never failed to meet an obligation to a friend.
" Whether on paper, by word of mouth, or tacit understanding only, he kept his faith, or tried to.

" A marked characteristic in him was the respect with which he treated the decisions of courts. However adverse the ruling or grievous the error, in his opinion, he maintained, unfailingly, in deportment, and I doubt not in thought, a respect for the judicial tribunal.

" I cannot take the time, neither is it necessary, to enumerate his good qualities as friend, lawyer, or public man. This much can be said of him more than any man I ever knew: that while he had enemies, he had no enmities; and I know that beneath an uncouth exterior he had virtues which to those who would look and see shone like polished jewels. This immense concourse of his oldest neighbors and closest friends, who, on the busiest day of harvest-time, have come to attend him until the impenetrable walls of the grave shut them away, will hold his memory precious. They know he was their friend. We know he was the friend of Kansas. I know he was my friend through life, and down to him, before the sods roof over his narrow home, I say, 'Good friend, farewell!'"

At the conclusion of Judge Doster's address, the Odd Fellows took charge and performed the closing ritualistic services of their order. The Woodsdale mourners were the last to leave the final resting-place of their friend and benefactor.

" Thou art free from time and space,
Free from earth and air and sea;
Free to run thy spirit race
Through unveiled eternity.

" Free! the poison shafts of hate
Nevermore on thee shall fall;
Opes for thee the shining gate,
Opes the grand Olympian hall.

" As the dim earth-wave recedes,
Grander worlds unfold to view.
For thee bloom their fragrant meads,
Mantled o'er with crystal dew.

" Angel friends thy soul embrace,
Angel life will blend with thine,
And welcome to the eternal race,
To the heavenly Muse's shrine."

CHAPTER XIII.

Gethsemane.—One of the Argonauts.—Kind Voices Heard in the Darkness.

It is recorded that when the Divine Prototype of suffering humanity knelt alone in the anguish of Gethsemane, praying that the cup might pass, "an angel appeared, strengthening Him." When, in the first agony of an unshared sorrow, I prayed for death to save me from the coming desolate years, their crown of thorns and cruel cross of bereavement, the Angel of Human Sympathy came to me, speaking tender words of condolence, through various orders and lodges; and also in letters from friends, some of whom I had never seen or known. There came also many tributes of well-deserved praise, and many heart-felt expressions of good will, and even affection, for S. N. Wood. Very sweet and soothing they must have seemed, *if only they reached* the weary, wounded spirit, who had been the target of so many envy-poisoned and malice-driven darts.

I wish I could record all of those messages to me, all of those dear words about him; but only a part of them can be given herein, while all are cherished as treasures to be transmitted to posterity.

The following references to "the old chosen band," to the ancient Argonauts and the one "just gone out from amongst us," and the hint of helpless human longing for the hope that the "providence of God" is over all, are from an unknown hand:

"Those heroes that in fair Asopia rest,
All buried with their faces to the west,
Go and appease with offerings of the best."

"They are fast dying out.

"The old Virginia gentleman, the old Mexican soldier, the old Texan ranger, and that old chosen band, the Free-Soilers of Kansas. * * * * *

"What a strange lot they were that filed into Kansas in

the 50's! There was no star, nor beacon, nor pillar, but from the East and the North and the South gathered strange men, and when they met they knew each other. * * *

"From time to time a herald went back and told how the battle waged. When he returned he brought with him young giants, upon whose faces the down was just sprouting, but whose thews were like leather and whose sinews were like whip-cords.

"Besides, they had 'the purpose.' * * * *

"In the providence of God there comes a time for man to die. Scipio died of a fever. Cæsar was removed. Ajax fell upon his own sword. Napoleon III failed to die at Sedan, and missed the laurel.

"Away back in the early mists of history we read of those two old Argonauts, Moses and Aaron. Shoulder to shoulder they had stood for forty years—forty years of battle and expiation. Their people were redeemed and the promised land was in view. But for the new order of things, new men must be had. The men who had trained Israel for forty years were not the men for the new life it was to enter upon. * * *

"The name of the old Argonaut who has just gone out from amongst us may have been on the roll of those who were chosen to be slain. But a giant has fallen—a giant whose life is the history of Kansas."

J. E. Thomas expressed himself as follows in the Woodsdale *Sentinel*:

"Few men have led a more active and useful life than Col. Samuel N. Wood. He was among the first settlers of Kansas and in a fearless out-spoken manner advocated anti-slavery sentiment.

"He was a pioneer Odd Fellow in Kansas, a member of Lawrence Lodge, No. 4, and was a member of Elmdale Lodge, No. 128, and is now a member of Woodsdale Lodge, No. 334, I. O. O. F. He also belongs to the K. of P. Lodge at Ulysses, Grant County, is a member of the G. A. R. Post in Woodsdale and the I. O. G. T. Lodge of this place.

"Few men have done as much as the subject of this sketch toward laying deep the foundations of liberty in a large Territory, threatened with the curse of slavery. He was one of the founders of the Republican party, and remained with it until he saw it prostituted to the service of monopolistic corporations for the oppression of the masses, when he left it and advocated the reform measures of the Greenback party. While not a member of the Alliance, he has advocated their principles for years, and took a prominent part in the convention at Cincinnati that inaugurated the People's party. He had always been closely allied with the common people, always

advocating the cause of the poor man, and is known all over the State as the poor man's friend.

"Col. Wood's habits were above reproach. He never touched alcohol in any form; never used vulgar or profane language. He never allowed his feelings to show externally if they were those of anger. He never allowed passion to get control of his judgment, and in our most exciting moments he unhesitatingly and universally advised all to do nothing rash and not violate the law.

"Col. Wood was truly a self-made man. He hewed his own way through life and in his own way. The chips which fell promiscuously made some bitter enemies, but, on the other hand, few men can boast of as many personal friends in Kansas as he had. We feel sure that most of his opposition abroad was political envy. His popularity was growing as rapidly as the new party in this State. His opposition at home was purely of a personal nature, due to sectional jealousy. He cast his lot with the people of Woodsdale and vicinity in the early settlement of this county, and while some have accused him of selling out and being unfaithful to their interests, we are satisfied none would be able to produce any proof of such. But, through a generous spirit of fidelity to his friends and forgetfulness of himself, he left a lucrative law practice in the eastern part of the State and came here to help build up the country. He stayed with us and fought our battles with us, and in our most trying times had a cheering word for all. He was never despondent, but believed that this would make a farming country. None were doing more to prove it than he. The only thing that discouraged him was the lawlessness of some persons in Hugoton. We have heard him say so often, 'I wish they would behave themselves and go according to law.' It took extreme provocation to elicit from him a harsher reference to them.

"He was loved for his generosity and kindness. He was admired for his wit and force of logic. His power of endurance and the keen, unceasing, unrelenting activity of his wonderful mind made Col. Wood what he was. He was always at the front of every enterprise he undertook. He was a recognized leader everywhere. And now he is no more on earth, but his kindly nature has left its impressions with us, which is an heirloom of sweet remembrance.

"As he was great, they envied him; a stumbling-block in their way, they killed him. He has fallen amid life's struggles at his post of duty, full of honor, and now, with tears of bitter sorrow, we say, 'Good-bye, Colonel; we hope to meet you again.'"

Resolutions passed by Felix Lodge, I. O. O. F., No. 295:

STRONG CITY, KAN., July 2, 1891.

"WHEREAS, Our beloved brother of the order, Col. S. N. Wood, has been called, by the assassin's bullet, to leave this world; and

"WHEREAS, Our deceased brother has been a pioneer in Odd-Fellowship in Kansas, as well as in Kansas history, and a charter member of this (Felix) lodge, No. 295, when instituted, October 1, 1886, but recently transferred to Woodsdale Lodge, I. O. O. F., No. 334; be it

"Resolved, That we mourn deeply our loss of Brother Wood, and sympathize with the bereaved family of our deceased brother; and be it further

"Resolved, That we appreciate the kind assistance of all Odd Fellows in the last ceremonies at the funeral; and be it further

"Resolved, That we condemn the dastardly deed of the assassin in the cold-blooded murder of Brother S. N. Wood, and that we demand justice in the prosecution of the case; and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the records of this lodge, and a copy sent to each member of the bereaved family; and that a copy be furnished to the *Reveille* and *Chase County Courant*, of Cottonwood Falls, Kan., and the Woodsdale *Sentinel*, for publication.

"J. I. HEY,

"J. F. KIRKER,

"GEO. W. CRUM,

"Committee.

"Approved and attested by A. O. SHAFF, *N. G.*

[SEAL]

"W. H. McMORRIS, *Sec'y.*"

The following resolutions of respect to the memory of the late Col. S. N. Wood were adopted at Elmdale, Kansas, at a meeting of his old friends and neighbors, Wednesday evening, July 1, 1891:

"WHEREAS, Col. S. N. Wood, our late friend and neighbor, was cruelly murdered at Hugoton, Kan., on the 23d day of June last; and

"WHEREAS, We who knew him best feel deeply moved at his sad taking off, by reason of the fact that he was the unfortunate victim of what we believe to be a foul plot entered into by men who are well known to be corrupt and without reputation for good; and

"WHEREAS, The death of Col. Wood has made a deep and sad impression on the hearts of all good citizens, and especially on the hearts of the citizens of Elmdale, in Chase County, Kansas, where he was best known and most respected; and

"WHEREAS, By reason of his untimely death in the prime

of mature age, we deem it our duty, as his friends and neighbors, to give some expression of our appreciation of our great loss; therefore be it

"First—*Resolved*, That, in the death of Col. S. N. Wood the State of Kansas has lost one of its most sterling citizens, and that Chase County has lost its best friend, and that his loss is irreparable. That he was always kind and forgiving, was as brave as a lion; yet he would not injure a worm. That he was always kind and indulgent to those that were helpless, and in winter storms he has been known to take the coat from his back and bestow it on some poor person who seemed to be freezing for the want of clothing.

"Second—*Resolved*, That, while we honor his memory as a great lawyer and statesman, we honor him still more for his kindly nature; and that we fully believe that if the world were full of such men as Col. Wood, the righteous would never be forsaken nor his seed begging bread; that there would be no orphans crying with hunger and no paupers exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

"Third—*Resolved*, That we sympathize with Mrs. Wood in the loss of her noble husband, and that we have none but the kindest feelings to extend to his sons and daughter.

"Fourth—*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished to the press for publication, and also a copy be sent to each member of Colonel Wood's family.

"S. E. YEOMANS, *Chairman.*
"THOS. H. GRISHAM,
"DR. FRANK JOHNSON,
"Committee on Resolutions."

At a regular meeting of Ulysses Post, No. 204, Dept. of Kansas, G. A. R., held at Ulysses, Kansas, July 11, 1891, a committee previously appointed to draft resolutions on the death of Comrade S. N. Wood submitted the following, which were unanimously adopted:

"WHEREAS, The soldiers of the Grand Army of the Republic fought from 1861 to 1865 for the Union of our fathers and the constitution of our country, which guarantees to every citizen 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'; and

"WHEREAS, The assassination of Comrade S. N. Wood was in violation of these fundamental principles of our government, a crime without excuse or palliation, and believing as we do, that the cold-blooded murder of Comrade Wood was the outgrowth of a conspiracy by a certain gang; therefore,

"Resolved, That the conspirators who murdered Comrade Wood should be ferreted out, if possible, and punished to the full extent of the law.

"Resolved, That we believe hanging by the neck would be too honorable a death for James Brennan, the cowardly assassin.

"Resolved, That the officers of the law, whose duty it is to protect the life of every citizen by a strict enforcement of the law and punishment of its violators, owe it to themselves and to the fair name of the State of Kansas to perform without swerving their whole duty in this instance, and that we will hold no officer guiltless who attempts to excuse or palliate this great crime, or in any way shield the assassin or his co-conspirators.

"Resolved, That the law should in all cases be upheld, and we deprecate and condemn any and all threats of unlawful violence against the murderer or any parties believed to be implicated in this crime.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished the Ulysses *Tribune* for publication; also, a certified copy to the family of our deceased comrade.

"W.M. BUCKLES,
"JOHN WANN,
"J. H. LUCAS,
"Committee.

"I certify that the above is a correct copy.

"J. H. LUCAS, *Adj't.*"

The following resolutions were passed by the Ulysses K. of P. Lodge, relative to the death of Brother S. N. Wood:

"WHEREAS, Brother S. N. Wood was assassinated in a cowardly manner by James Brennan at Hugoton, Kansas, on June 23, 1891, and was without word of warning summoned before the Supreme Chancellor of the Universe; and

"WHEREAS, The deceased was a member in goodstanding of our lodge, and a faithful, consistent knight; and

"WHEREAS, We realize the fact that the loss to our order is nothing to be compared to the loss of those to whom he was bound by the sacred ties of family relationship;

"THEREFORE, Be it resolved by Ulysses Lodge, No. 181, in regular meeting assembled:

"1st. That we denounce the murder of Brother Wood as a cowardly, dastardly assassination, and that it is the desire of this lodge that the murderer be brought to a speedy and just punishment for his crime.

"2d. That we extend to the widow and children of the deceased our heart-felt sympathy in their affliction.

"3d. That our charter be draped in mourning for thirty days.

"4th. That a copy of these resolutions be sent under

seal of the lodge to the widow of Brother Wood, and a copy be published in the *Ulysses Tribune*.

“GEO. W. EARP,
“H. E. EVANS,
“J. W. GORDON,
“Committee.”

At a meeting of the bar of Finney County District Court, held in the court-room of said court on the 25th day of June, A. D. 1891, at Garden City, Kansas, A. J. Abbott was elected chairman, and Dodd Cartwright secretary. Whereupon the following resolutions were adopted:

“WHEREAS, On the 23rd day of June, 1891, at Hugoton, in Stevens County, Kansas, Colonel S. N. Wood, an attorney of this court, was assassinated and shot to death; and

“WHEREAS, Said assassination was the result of a participation of Colonel Wood in the prosecution of an indictment in one of the courts of the nation; and

“WHEREAS, At the time of said shooting and killing Col. Wood was in attendance upon the District Court of Stevens County, Kansas, in pursuance of the mandate of said court; therefore,

“Resolved, That we, as members of the bar of Finney County, in the Twenty-seventh Judicial District of Kansas, and officers of this court, have learned with sorrow of the death of Colonel Wood.

“Resolved, That in the death of Colonel Wood the bar of Southwest Kansas has lost an able and conspicuous member; the community a fearless and valued citizen; and the State of Kansas one of its most prominent, unique, original, and distinctive characters.

“Resolved, That, gifted with a warm and generous heart, beneath an odd and rugged exterior, those who knew him best most valued the acquaintance and friendship of Colonel Wood as a companion, neighbor, and associate.

“Resolved, That as an untiring worker in any cause which he conceived to be right, Colonel Wood was singularly skillful and resourceful, and that he had few equals as an able advocate and formidable adversary.

“Resolved, That we hereby express our utter horror and condemnation of the brutal violence and lawless atrocity which has characterized the death of Colonel Wood, as a disgrace to civilization and an outrage upon the rights of the lawyer and citizen to peacefully, fearlessly, and manfully perform public duties.

“Resolved, That we see, in the manner of the killing and the circumstances surrounding the same, a menace to private, personal, and professional rights, which, if unrebuted, would

lead to assassination as a common matter of revenge; and we therefore extend to the civil authorities of Stevens County our encouragement in their efforts to speedily bring to justice the perpetrator of this most foul and cruel murder.

"Resolved, That we tender to the family of the deceased our sympathy in their bereavement, and request the press of this District to publish these resolutions as the sense of this meeting.

"Resolved, That the secretary be instructed to furnish a copy of these resolutions to the Topeka *Capital*, to Mrs. S. N. Wood, widow of Col. S. N. Wood, and a copy to each of the newspapers published in Finney County, Kansas.

"A. J. ABBOTT, *Chairman.*

"DODD CARTWRIGHT, *Secretary.*"

Local Assembly No. 42, Citizens' Alliance, passed the following:

"MARION, KANSAS, July 8, 1891.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood and Family:

"WHEREAS, In his death, Brother S. N. Wood has met the inevitable fate of human existence, and that in a manner that augments the grief of his friends; and

"WHEREAS, We realize that the death of our late brother means much more than the average individual loss; because he was an earnest worker in the cause of social and financial reform, and, as we believe, was just entering an era where, on account of his broad and ever-ready adaptability, he would have been of the greatest service to the new movement; therefore,

"Resolved, That the undersigned committee, in behalf of this society, extend their sincere sympathy and express their profound sorrow to the bereaved family, that such an uncalled-for and unprovoked occurrence should befall our brother; and

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the grief-stricken wife, as a slight token of remembrance of one who was worthy of a greater reward than this life has given him.

"LEON RIDDLE,

"J. O. GAVER,

"CHAS. HARDCASTLE,

"Committee."

Lone Star Alliance and Industrial Union, of Hale, Chautauqua County, Kansas, passed these resolutions:

"WHEREAS, S. N. Wood, our brother and co-worker in the cause of right and humanity, has been stricken down by the hand of a most brutal assassin and his accomplices; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, the members of Lone Star Alliance

and Industrial Union, No. 649, do tender our most heart-felt sympathy and condolence to Sister Wood and family, in this sad bereavement.

"Having heard with profound regret of the death of your dear husband, we condole with you most sincerely in this hour of sad bereavement; and if sympathy of friends can be any consolation under the trying circumstances, be assured we all share in your sorrow for your loss. There is, however, a better source of consolation than any earthly friendship, and you are commended thither. In that blissful country where your loved one has gone, we know he is free from the pain he endured here, and is at rest, and we believe that his spirit will ever be near to you, and comfort you in your loneliness.

"Commending you to the Great Ruler of the Universe, we are yours, in friendship and fraternity,

"H. PORTER,
"M. L. PALMER,
"M. CAULFIELD,

"CHARLES M. HARMON, *Secretary.* *Committee.*"

Ulysses Lodge, No. 356, I. O. O. F., Ulysses, Kansas, drew up the following:

"WHEREAS, This lodge has learned with the deepest feelings of sorrow and regret of the death at the hand of an assassin of Brother Samuel N. Wood, at Hugoton, Kansas, June 23, 1891; therefore,

"Resolved, That in giving public expression to our sorrow on this occasion, we cannot refrain from condemning in the strongest possible terms that spirit of lawlessness, by whatever cause generated, that has led up to this sad ending of a man, who, though he may have had his faults, as all men have, was for so many years a leading member of our order in this State, and who possessed in so great degree that fraternal feeling taught by our order, and which led to the performance of so many acts of kindness in relieving the distress of the poor and needy, not only within the order, but wherever he found suffering humanity that needed a helping hand. And that this lodge will use whatever influence it may have, and give all possible aid to the discovery and conviction of all guilty parties connected with this foul murder, believing as we do that others than the assassin are accessories to the crime.

"Resolved, That the family of Brother Wood have our profound sympathy in their affliction, and while we fully realize that the loss to our order and country is great, theirs is of that deeper kind that cannot be condoled by fulsome words.

"Resolved, That we ever recognized in our late brother a man who had the courage of his convictions; who, as an attorney, ever battled manfully for the interests of his client, and,

as a citizen, contended ably and fearlessly for what he believed to be right.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent under seal of the lodge to the widow of our late Brother Wood, and one copy be furnished the *Ulysses Tribune* and the *Western Odd Fellow* for publication.

"Resolved, That, as a token of respect, our lodge-room be draped in mourning for thirty days.

"Given under my hand and the seal of our lodge this July 1, 1891.

C. W. OLMSTED,

[SEAL]

"Secretary."

At a meeting of the Barber County Alliance held at Medicine Lodge, the following proceedings took place :

"On motion of John T. Jesse, a committee was appointed to draft suitable resolutions concerning the murder of Sam Wood. Following are the resolutions adopted :

"Resolved, That we condemn the murder of Sam Wood as a base and dastardly deed ; and recognizing that the cause of reform has lost thereby a brave and prominent worker, we sincerely mourn his loss ; and be it further

"Resolved, That we extend to the family of the murdered brother our sincere and heart-felt sympathy.

"It was moved and carried that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Mrs. Wood, and that copies be sent to the *Index*, the *Alliance Review*, and the *Topeka Advocate* for publication.

H. S. LANDIS, President.

"J. O. HAHN, Secretary."

Resolutions of Home Lodge, No. 155, K. of P., on the death of Brother Samuel N. Wood :

"TOPEKA, KAN., July 8, 1891.

"WHEREAS, On the 23d of June, 1891, at Hugoton, Kansas, Samuel N. Wood, a member of the Order of Knights of Pythias, was shot and killed ; and

"WHEREAS, During his long residence in Kansas he rendered heroic service to his country in times of war, and in peace ; and

"WHEREAS, It is not our purpose to condone wrongs against individuals or the State, but our simple desire that justice be done to the memory of the dead, and a decent respect be paid to the feelings and affections of the living ; therefore be it

"Resolved, That if murder was committed in the killing of our brother, we most sincerely hope that the guilty man shall be made to suffer the full penalty of the law, and that speedily ; and be it further

"Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the loving and faithful widow of our deceased brother and their surviving children.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the bereaved widow and to the lodge of which our brother was a member, and that the same be spread upon the journal of this lodge.

[SEAL] "ARTHUR A. PETERS, C. C.
"Attest: W. B. FYFE, *K. of R. and S.*

Resolutions passed by Pawnee City Local Assembly No. 1 of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance of Nebraska, upon the death of their brother, Samuel N. Wood.

"PAWNEE CITY, Neb., July 17, 1891.

"Resolved, That in the life and character of the late Col. Sam N. Wood we observed one of the high types of American citizenship, an able champion of reform, and that in his assassination political freedom has sustained a most serious loss.

"Resolved, That we denounce in unmeasured terms the brutal and cowardly assassin, James Brennan, and his co-partners in crime, and will hail with delight the earliest intelligence that justice has fallen upon the heads of the assassins, as it did upon those who in like manner sent the assassin's bullet through the brain of the lamented Lincoln.

"Resolved, That the sympathies of this assembly are extended to the brave widow in her bereavement, and the wish that a kind Providence may so temper the asperities of life as to render her affliction more endurable, and that life's latest shadows may be lighted up with the thought that her lamented companion fell a martyr to the cause of humanity.

"Resolved, That these resolutions be printed in the Pawnee *Independent*, a copy sent to the *Nonconformist*, and one to the family of the departed brother."

Oxford Lodge, No. 136, I. O. O. F., expressed its sympathy in this language:

"OXFORD, KAN., June 30, 1891.

"WHEREAS, It has been reported that our brother, S. N. Wood, was brutally murdered by one James Brennan, and whereas this lodge recognizes in Bro. Wood an Odd Fellow of sterling merit; therefore be it

"Resolved, That Oxford Lodge, No. 136, extends its heartfelt sympathy to his wife and family in the loss of a husband and father, and to Woodsdale Lodge in the loss of a worthy brother; and be it

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Sister S. N. Wood and to Woodsdale Lodge.

[SEAL]

"C. A. TILTON,
"C. A. KEIR,
"J. M. MORGAN,
"Committee."

At a meeting of Citizens' Alliance No. 63, in the city of Fort Scott, R. Osborn and R. M. Chenault were appointed as a committee on condolence on the death of Col. S. N. Wood, and drafted the following:

"FORT SCOTT, KAN., June 27, 1891.

"We realize in the death of Col. Sam Wood a great loss to the order. His name is on the national charter as one of its founders.

"He was one of the early settlers of the State. He was one of the advocates of the old Greenback party doctrine. We have lost a valuable member and advocate of justice and right. The power of his hand was felt in the last fall campaign of the people of this State, and we doubt not that the foul murder is the result of a conspiracy by the enemy of the reform movement. Col. Wood, no doubt, had some faults, but as he can no longer plead for himself, we would plead for him.

"Some cowardly, heartless tools of plutocracy are rejoicing in his death. No doubt their bosses have felt his heavy blows. It reminds us of the 'copperhead' element, at the time of the assassination of the illustrious Lincoln, rejoicing in his death. Thus enemies of justice have always rejoiced in the death of good men, which is the best evidence of their great merit.

"The wife and family of Col. Wood will please accept our condolence in this case, and being extraordinary in all its forms causes us to feel deeply your sorrow and bereavement.

"CITIZENS' ALLIANCE NO. 63,

"By their Committee, { R. OSBORN,
 { R. M. CHENAULT."

Resolutions adopted by the County Council of the A. O. U. W., assembled in regular session in Fredonia, Kansas:

"July 23, 1891.

"We, the committee appointed to draft resolutions expressing the sentiment of this order concerning the assassination of our worthy comrade, S. N. Wood, who, on the 23d day of June last was made the victim of a most foul, premeditated, and cold-blooded murder, at the hands of one James Brennan; and

"WHEREAS, The sad news was received by the members of the above order with deep sorrow, it is becoming that we,

his surviving comrades, give testimony to his many manly qualities; therefore be it

"Resolved, First. That we sincerely deplore the untimely taking away of Comrade S. N. Wood at a time when his services were so much needed.

"Second. That in the assassination of Comrade S. N. Wood the State of Kansas has lost one of her most able and distinguished citizens; the community in which he lived a highly valued and respected neighbor, one who was never known to forsake a friend or to fear an enemy. His companion in life has lost a devoted, and loving husband, and his children a kind and sympathetic father.

"Third. That in his death the common cause of the people has lost one of its truest, most faithful, and untiring workers; one whose place cannot easily be filled.

"Fourth. That we unite in tending our most profound and heart-felt sympathy to the family, relatives, and friends of our deceased comrade in this their sad bereavement.

"Fifth. That while, through a well-concocted plot of his enemies, it was made possible for a cowardly assassin to take the life of a true and brave citizen, the principle for which he so faithfully battled is still living, and will continue to live until oppression and tyranny shall have lost its power, and until this government shall be conducted in a spirit of fairness and justice toward all mankind.

"Sixth. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the widow of our deceased comrade, and one be spread upon the minutes of our order; also ordered that a copy be sent to the Topeka *Advocate* for publication.

"A. S. HOLMBERG,
"J. F. SHINN,
"G. C. HUBBELL,
"Committee."

Resolutions passed by Washington State Convention of the Knights of Labor, held at North Yakima, July 18, 1891.

"WHEREAS, In Kansas the campaign has begun with a baptism of blood from the heart of as true and earnest a worker for human rights as ever the sun shone on, known to his many friends as Samuel N. Wood, who was foully murdered at Hugoton, Stevens County, Kansas, June 23, 1891; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this convention, representing the toilers of the State of Washington, send this resolution of sympathy and condolence to the widow on the loss of her brave husband, and the State of Kansas for the loss of a true and undaunted worker for the rights and liberties of the toiling masses.

"Resolved, Further, that the loss of one such man should

be deplored nationally, because of his fidelity to truth and justice. Be it further

"Resolved, That this convention deeply sympathize with the friends and relatives of our own dead citizens, Brothers Morris and Williams, who were cruelly murdered June 28, 1888, by one Park Robinson, at the instigation of a corporation. 'Justice is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.' Be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the family of the deceased and printed in the *Industrial Free Press* and *Nonconformist*, Winfield, Cowley County, Kansas, the *Kansas Commoner*, Wichita, the *Advocate*, Topeka, Kansas, and the leading papers of the State of Washington."

In the Lawrence *Jeffersonian* of July 2, 1891, appeared a communication from ex-Governor Charles Robinson, who had been intimately acquainted with Col. Wood for nearly thirty-seven years, and whose opportunities for discovering his faults and good qualities had been unlimited. The friendship begun between them in the old Territorial time of conflict and peril and heroic endurance never wavered or waned, but grew stronger, if possible, as the rolling years bore them onward toward the sunset which precedes the "dawning of the morning." Those persons who are aware of the fraternal feeling which existed between the two men will read between the lines of the following high eulogy a most touching threnody :

"In the death of Col. S. N. Wood, Kansas has lost its ablest and one of its best citizens. It is doubtful whether the tide of slavery would have been turned back from Kansas without his assistance. His services were invaluable and indispensable. He understood the conflict in every particular, was thoroughly in earnest, a man of firm conviction and with sufficient courage for all emergencies. He was physically and intellectually a giant, with a heart full of love and good will for his race. He was always found on the side of the oppressed and in the thickest of the fight. As long as political or religious organizations were of service to humanity, so long he would be loyal to them; but when they turned oppressors he instinctively turned against them. Mere politicians, who wear collars,—Scribes, Pharisees, and Hypocrites,—hated him with an intense hatred because they couldn't meet him in an argument. Their only recourse was to indulge in ridicule, insinuations, or direct charges of dishonesty, knowing that his heart and conduct were as high above theirs as was Christ above Barabbas. Some of these partisans have probably come to believe their false accusations to be true from their

oft repetition, and they even would repeat them after his death, but their slurs at the dead lion will harm nobody but themselves.

"There was a character 1800 years ago that the Pharisees and hypocrites could not meet in debate, and they went to calling names; said he was a drunkard, Sabbath-breaker, an associate of disreputable people, and by no means suitable for companionship with the 'whited sepulchres' that were 'full of dead men's bones.' The people, the industrial classes, the poor, the oppressed, and especially those who are freed from bondage by his efforts, will sing praises to the name of their friend, whatever those who 'live, move, and have their being' by the favor of oppressors may say. In the hereafter he will be holding hallelujah receptions with such as were oppressed, while they will be floundering about on the brimstone lake in search of Dead Sea apples and a little cool water."

The following is the tribute of John Madden, of Cottonwood Falls, Kansas:

"Time only serves to strengthen the claims of the men who shaped the destiny of Kansas. One by one they are passing away, even as the leaves fall in the autumn of the years. They at least merit the distinction of impartial history, and the man who enjoys the liberty of the present has no right to deny to them their proper places in the making of a new commonwealth. We are all more or less the creatures of circumstances. In the inception of a man's career he may outline the course of his life in accordance with his own ideas of the eternal fitness of things. Still a higher power directs and controls, and he soon finds that the field has widened, the horizon has grown and expanded, and his range of vision is bounded only by the dim shadows along the frontier of the future. He becomes in a measure a factor of an impelling destiny, an irresistible force in the economy of natural selection, and in the buffeting of the gathering storms he soon learns to know that life is like the prize-ring, and men must 'give and take.' In the language of Eugene Ware:

"States are not great except as men may make them,
Men are not great except they do and dare;
But States, like men, have destinies that take them,
That bear them on, not knowing why or where.'

"The men who early took a part in the Kansas struggle, as a class, were men of the kind indicated. They built better than they knew. Their situation developed powers which would have remained dormant had not the soul been touched by the epics of the heroic. They had their faults, and in this way were mortal; but when they responded to the cry of outraged humanity their souls received the coloring of the divine, and in this they were immortal.

"Sam Wood was a typical Kansan. He had aided in nursing the new commonwealth into life. He was a man of action. His destiny was cast with Kansas, and her history is replete with his life work. He dared for her all the dangers of the pro-slavery period and suffered all the hardships of the soldier, the pioneer, and the builder. He was no common man. He was cast in a heroic mould. For thirty-seven years he had been a center figure in the State, and no man can say that he ever wavered in his great love for her. He was loyal to her because she was a child of his early manhood. In this he was a true man, and his foul murder on the 23d, at Hugoton, will only serve to bring out in more enduring form the heroism, the courage, and all the kindred virtues of Sam Wood of Kansas."

James H. Holmes, Orange, N. J., wrote the following to the *New York Sun*:

"July 8, 1891.

"Samuel N. Wood, the Kansas pioneer, judge, ex-Speaker of the Kansas House of Representatives, one of the original A., T. & S. F. Railroad Company, one of the veterans of the battle of Wilson's Creek, and later a lieutenant-colonel in the volunteer service, has just been assassinated in Stevens County, Kansas.

"I first saw Sam Wood at the 'People's Convention' which nominated Frémont for the Presidency in June, 1856, at Philadelphia. When the chairman of that crowd of enthusiasts, reading the appointments to the Committee on Credentials, came to 'Kansas, S. N. Wood,' rousing cheers greeted the name. A touch of heroism attached to the modest young lawyer who had been prominent in the party that rescued Farmer Branson from a pro-slavery sheriff the November before, perhaps the first overt act of Kansas Free State settlers. When the convention adjourned, I, who had just started with bundle and Sharpe's carbine and was *en route* to the battle-ground of freedom, followed the Kansans to a delegation caucus. The meeting was held in a hotel bedroom, and soon ran into a dispute as to whether fighting or temporizing was the better policy for the Kansas settlers. S. C. Pomeroy, afterward one of Kansas's first United States senators, bitterly attacked Wood for his part in the rescue of Branson.

"The discussion and the scene strongly impressed me, whose sympathies were for Wood.

"Secretary of the Treasury Chase, knowing Sam Wood, appointed him in 1861 Collector of the Port of El Paso, a position he declined in order to accept a captaincy in a Kansas regiment.

"It is one of the incongruities of a Kansas border county that court was held in a church building at Hugoton, and, as Attorney Wood came out from the structure, the assassin fired from the shelter of its walls at his victim, who was nearing his carriage a few feet away, where sat his wife, a companion of forty years. It was the tragic ending of a bright, useful, and romantic life."



CHAPTER XIV.

LETTERS FROM FRIENDS.

The following letters and telegrams were received in the months of June and July, 1891, and are herein presented in the order in which they were dated:

"LAWRENCE, KAN.

" MY DEAR MRS. WOOD,—The report of the death of your husband has filled us with deep sorrow. He filled a most important place in the history of our State, and our attachments were the most cordial throughout our acquaintance. But while we sorrow for ourselves, we know that your grief must be greater than all others, and we tender our heart-felt sympathy for your great loss.

" Mrs. R. joins me in the expression of love and good will.

CHARLES ROBINSON."

"LAWRENCE, KAN.

" MRS. MARGARET L. WOOD,—Words fail us to express our sympathy in your great sorrow. May the Great Consoler in all bereavements sustain you.

JOHN SPEER.

" J. H. SHIMMONS."

[Messrs. Speer and Shimmons were among the pioneers of Lawrence, and these gentlemen, by actual contact, well knew the value of the intrepid and sterling qualities of one of the truest men to the cause of freedom that Kansas ever produced.]

" MARION CENTER, KAN.

" The State to which your husband gave near all the years of his manhood owes it to his memory, as the smallest recompense that could be made, to punish his assassin and vindicate him.

FRANK DOSTER."

" MATFIELD GREEN, KAN.

" MRS. S. N. WOOD,—May the all-wise Ruler of the Universe sustain you, and enable you to bear the sorrowful burden placed upon you and your family.

" Please bear up bravely and hope for time to alleviate the sorrow you now suffer. Truly your friends,

" HENRY BRANDLEY AND FAMILY."

“EXCELSIOR SPRINGS, MO.

“Mrs. S. N. Wood:

“DEAR MADAM AND FRIEND,—The news of the awful tragedy at Hugoton, which we have long feared, has just reached us. We cannot refrain from expressing to you, or trying to, our deep grief at all which the death of your noble husband at the hands of a brutal and cowardly assassin implies to you and the State of Kansas. We feel it as a personal loss. He died no less a martyr in the cause of human freedom than did John Brown, and, like him, he has not died in vain; but that cannot lessen your grief nor supply your irreparable loss. May God pity and sustain you is the prayer of your friends,

ANNA C. AND W. S. WAIT.”

[Mrs. Anna C. Wait is recording secretary of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, and resides at Lincoln, Kansas.]

“PHILADELPHIA, PA.

“MY DEAR MRS. WOOD,—I was heart-sick last night, to read of Col. Wood's death.

“Our forebodings are now realized. The murderers, and those who have been robbing the tax-payers of Stevens County for years, have at last succeeded in removing the only man who was able and fearless enough to cope with and bring them to justice. They have finally effected what they have endeavored to accomplish by murder during the past year, and their hired assassin has stilled the ablest brain and most fearless heart that beat in Stevens County.

“In his death lay their only safety from either the gallows or penitentiary. My belief is, it has been an understood thing all winter he was to be killed the day he came into Hugoton.

“Let any fair-minded man compare the antecedents and past history of Samuel N. Wood with those of the men he has opposed for years in their schemes of dishonesty and plunder.

“His death is an irreparable loss to all who desire good government in Stevens County; and many who have been his enemies will do justice to his memory hereafter. May our Heavenly Father support you in this severe trial.

“I desire to be remembered to Mr. David Wood and your family.

ADAM EVERLY.”

[Mr. Everly is now United States consul at Birmingham, England.]

“LAWRENCE, KAN.

“MY DEAR MRS. WOOD,—Words are powerless to express my sympathy for a sorrow like yours. Only those who know how devotedly you and Col. Wood were attached to each other

can realize how great has been the blow that has fallen upon you. I hope your courage and your strength will continue until the day comes for your release from the duties and trials of this world. There may come rest in another. For your children's sake you will bear up bravely to the end. I have thought of you much these last few days. They doubtless seem long to you. You have experienced much happiness in the pleasant home life. Its memory will be yours. The darkness of the night must be somewhat brightened by the light of the many happy days that have gone before; and many friends would help you bear the burden by their loving sympathy. Doctor joins me in kindest wishes to you.

"SARA T. L. ROBINSON."

"PARSONS, KAN.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood:

"DEAR MADAM,—It is with feelings of sincere regret that I learn of the untimely death of my friend and brother, S. N. Wood; and I assure you I do not express an empty or formal sentiment when I extend to you my sympathy in this your time of sorrowing on account of the loss of your husband.

"It was my pleasure to enjoy the hospitality of your happy home twenty-three years ago the coming autumn, when you resided near Cottonwood Falls. I have not had the pleasure of meeting you since; but your husband I have met frequently, and only last October, in our Grand Lodge (I. O. G. T.) at Topeka, I met and worked with him. JAMES GRIMES."

"NIAGARA, STEVENS COUNTY, KAN.

"MY DEAR MRS. WOOD,—My heart is full of sorrow for you in this dark hour. You have lost a kind and noble husband under most cruel circumstances. That church in Hugoton and that ground are stained with the life-blood of a noble man. Our counselor for peace has gone. We have lost a man who was striving to do all he could for the good of our county. No other man can fill his place. Such talent and good judgment as he had few men possess.

"We feel his loss as a personal bereavement. I hope the murderer and those who instigated the cowardly deed may be brought to justice. MRS. WM. HAMILTON."

"FORT DODGE, IOWA.

"MRS. S. N. WOOD,—His work will not cease with his death, but it will grow and broaden before him. We all feel that the assassins and their tools should be punished, but we should remember that they have damned themselves, and time never will come, here or hereafter, that they will not sit in judgment over their own deeds. D. W. HULL."

"COLUMBIA, KY.

"MRS. S. N. WOOD,—Having just received the sad intelligence of the murder of Col. S. N. Wood, at Hugoton, I extend to you my full sympathy. Words fail to express my feelings in this matter. I know that Stevens County has lost one of its most valuable citizens by the hand of an assassin. It trust that the law may be enforced, and justice given to the murderer. Respectfully,

W. O. ROBINSON."

"WICHITA, KAN.

"MRS. COL. WOOD,—I grieve with you and your children over the loss of your husband and their father. It was a most cowardly and inexcusable case of murder—even worse than the killing of Garfield. I cannot express my disgust and hatred towards those cowards, who dared not face Col. Wood, but employed a vile coward to shoot him in his back, in the presence of his wife. Col. Wood was the bravest and most useful citizen Kansas ever had, and this was the cause of his assassination. He knew what was right, and dared to say so. I have known of him ever since he came to Kansas. While he was brave, he was tender-hearted almost to a fault.

"The history of Kansas, correctly written, will show his head and shoulders above any other man in the State. His heart and hand were always open to the poor, as well as to the rich; to the humble as well as to those in high positions. Those who planned that brutal murder, and hired their cowardly tool to commit the deed, ought to be punished.

"I was a comrade of Col. Wood's in the late war; I am your friend,

A CITIZEN OF WICHITA."

"SANTA FE, KAN.

"MY DEAR MRS. WOOD,—Permit me to extend to you my profound sympathy.

"Whatever faults Col. Wood may have had, he never did anything to merit assassination, and it is a source of great satisfaction to his friends to know that in his many legal and political conflicts his choice was always on the side of the oppressed.

"So far as I can learn, the people are universally condemning the cowardly act; and I trust all who may be implicated will receive their just punishment.

"Sincerely your friend,

A. W. STUBBS."

"NEW YORK, N. Y.

"DEAR MRS. WOOD,—It was with very deep grief that I read the news of the death of your dear husband, Mr. Wood, my old-time friend.

"I can but tell you of my sympathy in your affliction.
May God sustain you now and hereafter.

"Faithfully yours, JOHN SWINTON."

"ALICEVILLE, KAN.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood:

"DEAR MADAM,—The sad news of your husband's death fell heavily on this community as well as on other portions of Kansas.

"O, he was so good, so earnest an advocate for the cause of the oppressed! The death of no other man in the State would have fallen so heavily upon the people. We are left without a pilot in a great political storm. A great and good man has fallen. Our sorrow is sincere and deep; but if we who know him by reputation only feel so deeply, how much greater must be the grief of his nearest and dearest.

"No words, I know, can give you any comfort; but it may please you to know that in the hearts of the people for whom he worked his name will be cherished, sacred and dear to their memory. He has gone from his earthly labors, but his record will shine on down through the ages, and grow brighter as time rolls on. There is a terrible feeling here against the coward who so brutally took the life of your gallant husband and our noble leader.

"Excuse me if I have intruded. I want you to know that the true people of the whole State are mourning with you, and that our sympathies are with you in this dark hour.

"A. M. HAWES."

"TOPEKA, KAN.

"DEAR MRS. WOOD,—Our deepest sympathy for yourself and family, and high esteem for your husband, so cowardly murdered, prompts us to address you a few words at this time. Since the foul assassination of President Lincoln, in 1865, there has nothing transpired which so deeply stirs the veteran blood of our State. We formed the acquaintance of Col. Wood here in Topeka, over thirty-two years ago, and we know of what we speak when we say that a braver and a truer man to the interests of Kansas and the rights of the common people has never breathed the air of our western prairies. In his death the cause of human rights has lost an able and fearless champion.

"Col. S. N. Wood's body may be laid to rest beneath the green sod at Cottonwood Falls, but his *dauntless spirit*—like that of old John Brown—will ever 'go marching on' over these Kansas prairies for all time to come. The early history of Kansas can never be written without his name being associated with its crimson record. But, dear sister, this is poor

consolation for your lonely heart. Mrs. Otis joins me in extending our heart-felt sympathy in this time of your sad bereavement.

JOHN G. OTIS."

"COUNCIL GROVE, KAN.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood:

"MADAM,—I hardly know how to express my feelings about the death of Col. Wood. It seems that the cause of the people must have martyrs before the people will arouse from their sleep. Kansas has lost one of her ablest defenders and truest friends, and the shock is felt over the whole State and nation. It must be terrible to you and your children. It has cast a gloom over the whole State. You will need a great deal of fortitude to bear up under the burden. It seems that human life has very little security in these corrupt times. Shylock in power rides rough-shod over all. I hope there may be a day of reckoning. From your old friend and neighbor,

"J. P. MATHER."

"COUNCIL GROVE, KAN.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood:

"DEAR FRIEND,—In this hour of your great sorrow, I thought you would like to know that in this great busy world you have friends who sympathize deeply and sincerely with you. When your husband's name is handed down in history, it will be as a martyr to reform. He has a great many sincere mourners in Council Grove. I always think of him as a gifted man, a kind and indulgent father, a lover of children, and a strong advocate of women's rights.

"MRS. H. E. TIBBETTS."

"CHICAGO, ILL.

"DEAR MRS. WOOD,—You know there is no death, and in the freedom of the spirit he can do and be what he could not here.

DR. ALICE B. STOCKHAM."

"WELLSBURG, N. Y.

"Please accept my sincere sympathy in your sad bereavement. Those who knew your husband best loved him most.

"LELAND J. WEBB."

"JOPLIN, Mo.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood:

"DEAR MADAM,—While so many hearts are saddened by the untimely and violent taking off of our friend, I am drawn to you in sympathy; and allow me to express my earnest desire that you may realize that, though apparently separated, you may be united in spirit; and may God and good angels

comfort you in this your day of great trial and sorrow, is the prayer of his and your friend,

ISAIAH MORRIS."

"TOPEKA, KAN.

"MY DEAR MRS. WOOD,—With no desire to invade the sanctuary of domestic sorrow, or to check the grief that must needs have way, I nevertheless beg the precious boon of delivering to you a brief message, with the earnest hope that it may serve in a slight degree to buoy you up in this period of bereavement of a nature apparently incalculable. A week ago earth lost one of its most active, beneficent, conscientious, determined, and energetic spirits, and the tender hands of affectionate love consigned to the tomb the bodily part of him who truly had been a great hero on the world's broad field of battle.

"June—the sweet month of roses and of inestimable blessings—welcomed him to Kansas Territory in 1854; thirty-seven years later his earth-life ended in *newer* Kansas, through an assassin's pistol, propelled by other hands. Samuel N. Wood, though dead, yet speaketh. His blood crieth from the ground, and, with a gentle command, as was his wont, he says to the great army of men and women who have consecrated their all to duty, justice, love, and righteousness: 'Go forward; falter not in the way of well-doing, in the noble effort to live the life worth living, and thereby gain an eternity worth enjoying.' And so it may behoove you and me, and all who have known our brother in the flesh, to emulate his noble example, to take up the work that he has been compelled to lay down, and invoking his spiritual guidance, as the great choice martyr who has fallen upon Kansas soil, press on to greater activities in more earnest endeavors to fight in a noble warfare, not with carnal weapons, but with the sword of the Spirit of Truth, the open and secret foes to progress and righteousness, whose hands are imbued with the blood of one of earth's purest patriots. It may be given to you to suffer and be strong. He who has preserved us, still sustains, and if 'the blood of the martyrs be the seed of the church,' how much more, with a sanctified humility, may we say:

"That life is long that answers life's great end.
We live in deeds—not years;
He most lives who thinks most,
Feels the noblest, acts the best;
For whether on the gallows high,
Or in the battle's van,
The noblest place for man to die
Is where he dies for man!"

"And so to-day, my dear Mrs. Wood, I write to you as one of the survivors of your husband, who, figuratively speaking, is DEAD, but yet more alive than ever, and to whom and

to you it was my privilege to pay a tribute—brief and imperfect—at Oakley Hall, on Kansas Avenue, on Sunday evening last. Through a trance medium—Mrs. Kelley—messages from two spiritual intelligences were communicated to the audience, which had exalted uses.

“‘ If you bright stars that gem the night
 Be each a blissful dwelling sphere,
 Where kindred spirits reunite
 Whom death hath torn asunder here,
 How sweet it were at once to die,
 And leave this blighted orb afar;
 Mix soul with soul, to cleave the sky
 And soar away from star to star!

“‘ But O, how dark, how drear, how lone,
 Would seem the brightest world of bliss,
 If, wandering through each radiant zone,
 We failed to find the loved of this!
 If there no more the hearts shall twine
 Which death’s cold hand alone can sever,
 Ah, then these stars in mockery shine,
 More hateful as they shine forever!

“‘ It cannot be! Each hope and fear
 That lights the eye or clouds the brow
 Proclaims there is a happier sphere
 Than this bleak world that holds us now.
 There is a sphere that’s freed from pain,
 Where Trust doth triumph over fears—
 For Heaven whispers: “Dry thy tears;
 The pure in heart shall live again.”

“The foregoing stanzas come to me as yearnings from a journalistic pen, written in the days of my very early childhood—more than fifteen years prior to the ‘spirit knockings’ at Hydesville, New York, at the home of the Fox sisters. William Leggett, who was on the editorial force of the New York *Evening Post*—founded by the poet-historian, William Cullen Bryant, the author of ‘Thanatopsis,’ in his early ‘teens’—was the author of the foregoing beautiful lines.

“And now, with a somewhat intimate acquaintance with my assassinated brother for nearly fifteen years, remembering in March, 1877, when on a legislative excursion in the Rocky Mountains, his courteous attention to the companion of my bosom, and his tender handling of our little girl, now a married woman in her twenty-second year, I beg you to accept our joint, sincere, heart-felt sympathy in this your hour, perchance, of greatest trial, and our prayers that ‘He who doeth all things well’ will amply protect you, and guide with a patient serenity your declining steps on the western declivity of your earth-life. I remain your friend always,

“J. C. HEBBARD.”

“CLAY CENTER, KAN.

“*Mrs. S. N. Wood:*

“DEAR MADAM,—I have the honor of being one of Col. Wood’s personal friends, and I assure you that if it were in my power to make your sorrow less, I would gladly do so.

“He had many thousands of friends all over the West, who mourn his loss and deeply sympathize with you in your great affliction.

“Col. Wood’s good name and deeds will live long after his murderers and other enemies have been forgotten.

“W. D. VINCENT.”

[Mr. Vincent was secretary of the People’s State Central Committee.]

“JOPLIN, MO.

“*Mrs. S. N. Wood:*

“DEAR MADAM,—I learned with profound sorrow of the cowardly murder of your distinguished husband several days ago. Permit me, as his friend and warm admirer, to extend to you, and through you to your children and his brothers, my utmost sympathy in this greatest sorrow of your and their lives. He was my friend, faithful and just to me; and I feel it almost as a personal bereavement. I cannot but take your view of this wicked deed, and fully believe that most if not all whom you accuse are as guilty as the wretch who shot him down, or even more so, as instigators banded in conspiracy.

“A. FOLLETT.”

“QUINCY, FLORIDA.

“MY DEAR COUSIN,—I am far away from you, but not too far to be afflicted with you in so great a trouble as that which has just befallen you and your family. I saw the first notice of it by chance in a Jacksonville paper. I pray you to feel that you have of the old ‘kith and kin’ one who ‘weeps with those that weep.’

“It was a dreadful tragedy; a tragic ending of an almost tragic life. How many good and kind qualities he possessed, and what a large place he filled in the history of Kansas! Nearly forty years. Not another like him. There was a peculiar inimitable quality, all his own. I always liked him, while very often I could not go with him, and now I confess my heart aches. God rest his soul. Will you please accept your old cousin’s sympathy, who warmly and heartily commends you and yours, all, dear family, to God’s comfort.

“Affectionately,

J. N. LEE, D. D.”

"NEW YORK, N. Y.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood:

"DEAR MADAM,—Allow me to express my sympathy for you and detestation of the assassin who has bereaved you. I met Col. Wood first in Philadelphia, June 19, 1856, and afterwards in Lawrence, Kansas. I had hoped to meet him again. I always liked him. Could I aid you in securing the conviction of the assassin, or in exposing the conspiracy against him, you can have my services free.

"Very respectfully, JAMES H. HOLMES."

[Mr. Holmes once served as captain under John Brown.]

"GARDEN CITY, KAN.

"DEAR MRS. WOOD,—Accept my heart-felt sympathy in your terrible affliction. Colonel Wood was a friend to me and of mine, and now that he is gone I cannot but feel, more than ever before, how much I thought of him. O, that there could be more like him! A man to whom charity never appealed in vain, and from whom the poorest could gain recognition. A long life of usefulness to mankind is the richest legacy ever left humanity, and this is Col. Wood's. He lived longer in his life than could most men in twice the time.

"Respectfully, JESSE J. DUNN."

"CHICAGO, ILL.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood:

"DEAR MADAM:—I have heard of the sad ending of Mr. Wood's useful life. If you were his wife in 1855, I think I can call to your remembrance who I am. I was the young man of twenty years who came from Kansas City to your house in Lawrence on March 30, 1855, sick with a hard cold and fever. I came from Vermont with Governor Robinson's party. You and Mr. Wood took me in and took care of me until I got well. On April 8th I went to Topeka with nineteen others and laid out that city. Although I have not seen Mr. Wood or yourself since that time, I have ever held you both in remembrance for your kindness to me, a stranger. I have always watched the Kansas papers for any news from Mr. Wood. I have noted his career, and the untiring interest he has taken in the people and interests of Kansas. I hereby extend to you my sympathy and words of comfort. You have lost a manly husband, the State an honored patriot, and I a kind friend in the hour of sickness, and may the good Lord abundantly reward you for your kindness.

Respectfully,

L. BIXBY."

"CHICAGO, ILL.

"This shocking tragedy has nearly paralyzed my brain.

Believe me, I feel your agony in every heart-throb of my being. Thousands of your noble husband's co-laborers in this great work sympathize with you, and his death will be avenged in the near future through the great uprising of the people against this inhuman conspiracy, for such it no doubt was.

"I have hoped the revolution would be a peaceful one, but this crime against a peaceful, loyal citizen, who was only guilty of pleading the poor man's cause with eloquence, biting sarcasm, and ready wit, leads me to look toward the outcome with fearful foreboding.

LOUISE M. HEATH."

"TOPEKA, KAN.

"DEAR FRIEND,—You are not alone in your sorrow for the loved one so cruelly sacrificed. Suffering, down-trodden humanity mourns with you the loss of a true friend. One of the bravest workers for their emancipation has been slain by the hand of their enemy. Is a reign of terror upon us? Has it come to such a pass that a citizen dare not oppose corruption in office lest he be assassinated?

"This is a terrible condition of things. But S. N. Wood is not dead. They could not kill his brave spirit; and behind the veil which hides the unseen from mortal sight he will still work on; and who knows but he will wield a more potent influence in the cause so dear to him than he could have done here? Let us hope that such is the case.

"L. F. SLAYTON."

"TOPEKA, KAN.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood:

"DEAR MADAM,—Having returned from an absence of some time, I find a copy of Col. Wood's 'Manifesto' on my desk. This prompts me to do what I intended to do at once, but have neglected, to write you some words of sympathy. I know of how little weight such words are at best, yet I do want you to know that I am one of the many thousands in Kansas who mourn with you at your great loss, and at the loss of the State and its best institutions. My particular intimacy with Col. Wood has been since the work of the State Historical Society. On various occasions, in times of greatest need, he was in situations to render invaluable service, and he never failed to do it promptly, efficiently, and successfully. In the affairs of the society his advice and counsel were well-timed and valuable, and always given in a manner cheerful and agreeable. Col. Wood's contributions, especially of manuscript relating to early Kansas affairs, and in correspondence with public officials and business men, form an invaluable part of our manuscript collections. I deem it not only a personal duty on my part, but a duty which the Historical Society

owes to you, that you should know that what Col. Wood has done for it is not forgotten. I trust it will never be forgotten. I do not know to whom the society is indebted for the pamphlet 'Manifesto' to which I have referred, but I herewith enclose you an acknowledgment of the same. And I desire to express to you again my deep and heart-felt sympathy for you in your irreparable and inexpressible bereavement.

"Sincerely your friend,

"F. G. ADAMS, Sec."

" KANSAS CITY, Mo.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood:

"DEAR MADAM,—I cannot refrain from the expression of my feelings concerning the cowardly, brutal assassination of your husband, whose untimely death is a sad and sickening commentary on the reward due for his devotion to principle in the early days of Kansas history, and all along a busy and useful life. He was right in his fight against chattel slavery, and doubly right in his opposition to the financial slavery of both *black and white*. * * * * *

For this he has been murdered. Not by the old pro-slavery foe; not in the heat of battle, amid shot and shell, but on the plains of Kansas—free Kansas—Kansas, his adopted home, the land he did so much to make free—Kansas, ever in the front in all reforms; needing his services now more than ever.

"And so they killed 'Sam Wood' out on the extreme frontier, where he was trying to mend a fortune shattered in the defense of liberty; he was shot down while defenseless, in the presence of his wife; and Brennan but the tool of men in power.

"I met Mrs. Lease and Mrs. Anna Diggs but yesterday, and they were telling me of his great speech at the Cincinnati Convention. The eulogy they passed upon him was fine. His earthly work was well done, and he has taken his place among the martyrs to liberty and human rights. He has only, as he said, laid off the form, and by coming in contact with impressionable minds may, and undoubtedly will, continue his work.

* * * * We shall succeed! The cause he has so ably and bravely advocated *will triumph*, and the new Declaration of Independence be made good in due time; and when history makes the record, Lovejoy, martyr to humanity's sacred cause at one era, and Wood at another, will be mentioned, and revered alike. * * * * *

It is not to be supposed that they can forget their work! No; they are, with all the great leaders of new moves to emancipate their kind, as much interested as ever. In his ideas of the higher life he was right, and he had the honesty to say so. What he honestly believed, he said. He was no coward. How much better would the world be if the men and women

of to-day only had the courage of their convictions, and, like him, dared to tell the truth, instead of waiting till it becomes popular. But it is true, as the poet Mackey says :

"The man is thought a knave or fool,
Or bigot plotting crime,
Who, for the advancement of his kind,
Is wiser than his time."

"You have borne up bravely, as our philosophy teaches, knowing there is no death, only a change of conditions.

"With best regards and kind wishes, in which Mrs. Clark joins, I am sincerely yours, JOHNSON CLARK."

[Hon. Johnson Clark, of Osawatomie, Miami County, Kansas, was a member of the Kansas State Senate in the sessions of 1863 and 1864, and was Republican in his politics. Among his political associates were David P. Lowe, who was four years a representative in Congress from Kansas; Daniel M. Valentine, for twenty-four years an associate justice of the Supreme Court; Cassius G. Foster, who is judge of the United States District Court for Kansas. Mr. Clark, with his associate senators, Perry B. Maxson and Daniel Mitchell, was on a committee (of which he was chairman) to locate lands for the Agricultural College at Manhattan. His letter to Mrs. Wood should challenge the most respectful attention.—J. C. H.]

"LEAVENWORTH, KAN.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood:

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have no question in my mind as to the fact that there was organized effort made to assassinate your husband, and that he was assassinated in compliance with that conspiracy. I was convinced of that fact nearly a year ago, and so informed Col. Wood. I know he believed they desired to do the deed, but he expressed the opinion that they didn't have the courage to execute.

"I have several times published my views, and have copied ex-Gov. Charles Robinson's views, which express the opinion of all fair-minded men. I have had some experience with these cowardly assassins and would-be murderers here in Leavenworth, and readily see the motives of the men who conspired and murdered Col. Wood.

"I have only praise for your womanly words, honest, brave, and noble. They prove your love and reverence for the dead. Every loyal heart in Kansas mourns with you, and will hope that the conspirators and murderers will be brought to justice. Accept from me my deepest sympathy for the loss of your noble husband and my true friend.

"D. R. ANTHONY."

"SALINA, KAN.

"DEAR MRS. WOOD,—Ever since the shocking news of Col. S. N. Wood's death reached me I have been thinking of you, and wishing I could say a comforting word to you in your bereavement. But the loss is so great that I can only say to you that I feel it with you; for I recognize that in your husband's death *woman* sustained a severe loss, for he was ever the loyal friend to her best interests.

"I wish every woman in Kansas could know how much she is indebted to the S. N. Wood who has just died at the hands of an assassin. I have just had access to the account of the proceedings of the convention which framed the constitution under which we live to-day, and an authentic report of the proceedings of the Topeka Constitutional Convention. Besides that, I have recently been looking into the historical events of the '50's in Kansas, and everywhere I find traces of S. N. Wood's influence on the times in which he lived. But of supreme interest to me was his readiness to take up the cudgel in behalf of woman's enfranchisement, and to go into aggressive action, if needed, to secure to woman her human rights. We owe more to him than we shall ever be able to compute, and I believe that the thought that he had been useful to this cause was a source of happiness to him.

"I have been arranging a Pageant of Kansas History, and I have been pleased to show clearly in that something of what Kansas women owe to Colonel Wood. When I was writing it I thought perhaps he might hear it sometime and be glad that I had arranged it with considerable accurateness; but now he is gone, and it grieves me that he was taken off when he had so many plans for future usefulness.

"Accept my tender sympathy. I wish I could serve you in some way. Let me know if I can.

"The other day I was reading of early days in Kansas—when Reeder made his first visit to Lawrence, and you women gave him a banquet, and you responded to a toast, and so did your husband. Life was young then, and full of hope, though full of struggle too.

"You have lived a full life, and you and your husband have been permitted to be useful to your day and generation. There is no greater privilege.

"Yours in affectionate sympathy,

"LAURA M. JOHNS, Pres. K. E. S. A."

"TOPEKA, KAN.

"Mrs. S. N. Wood:

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I sympathize so fully with you in your great loss, and the loss that I, with the rest of the people of Kansas, have met with, that no business can be of sufficient

importance to me to keep me from finding time to aid you as your fond companion and my brother would have done for me and mine.

"I have written to H. S. Barnes, of Tiffin, Ohio, in regard to the great loss the common people of this country have sustained in the death of their champion, and have sent him the 'Manifesto' and recommended its circulation in Ohio, that 'he, though being dead, may yet speak.' If called to Ohio, I will try to fill the appointments, and oh! how unfit I am to try to fill the place of one so blessed with intellectual powers and years of such experience! but if I go, I can tell the story of his life and his foul taking off, that, in the words of Antony over the body of Cæsar, I may 'put a tongue in every wound of Cæsar that shall raise the stones of Rome to mutiny,' and that in his death the sacrifice has been furnished to give freedom to the oppressed in our land. With you, I feel like saying, 'How few really knew him!' The words of Leland J. Webb are so true: 'Those who knew him best loved him most.' I have three little ones and my parents, brother, and two sisters in the spirit land, and I believe they have all kindly welcomed my friend and do now accord him love for his friendship for me and a kindly greeting in the home of the blest for his life work of doing good.

"W. F. RIGHTMIRE."

"HUGOTON, KAN.

"DEAR MRS. WOOD,—Do not think this is a letter of condolence, for I in my life-time have received many of them, and know that all well-meant words of sympathy have an empty, mocking sound. There are hours when, in the midst of friends, we stand *alone*,—no helping word or hand can come near us; even the Father seems to be far away. Knowing this, I have stood speechless in the presence of your sorrow, feeling that it would be almost sacrilege to offer to say anything to you when all that can comfort you must come from the Divine; but I wish I could tell you that although your heart is broken and this world will never be the same to you again, there will come an hour—perhaps not now, but it *will* come—when above this tempest of your soul you will hear the first and only real words of comfort, and a strange peace will come to you; a peace which comes alone to those who drain Gethsemane's cup. Not every one learns the *cost* of these words, 'Thy will be done'; but may this *God's peace* soon find its way to you is my hourly prayer.

"MRS. M. E. DREW."

"KEARNEY, NEB.

"DEAR MADAM,—I learn that your husband and my cousin

has been shot and killed. I have been a great admirer of the brave and fearless man in Ohio and in Kansas and in the field, and I have never been so depressed or so indignant as at the news of his death at the hands of a cowardly assassin.

"Words of sympathy are as hollow mockery at such times as this; nevertheless, I assure you that you have many earnest sympathizers in this place, and everywhere the hope is expressed that his death will be avenged by meting out swift and sure justice, not only to his murderer, but to all connected with it. I remain your faithful friend and cousin,

"J. W. MOSHER."

"Wm. L. Wood:

"DEAR FRIEND,—I assure you that you and all your family have our sympathy. Our entire city is in sympathy with your mother and family.

"Your father gave us an address not long ago, which was largely attended and well received. Having him with us so recently makes the manner of his death seem all the more shocking.

"We hope the guilty ones may suffer the deserved penalty, and may God have mercy on those who had any part in such a foul deed.

As ever, your friend,

"REV. T. J. PIERSON."

"MEADE CENTRE, KAN.

"Mrs. M. L. Wood:

"DEAR FRIEND,—Ever since your husband's assassination I have been thinking about writing you. I have delayed for two reasons: 1st, I have been very busy during the day; when night came I felt too weary to write. 2d, I have been waiting for my blood to cool off. The more I think about the cruel, dastardly deed, and the more I read about it, the more indignant I become. And if I wait until my blood gets cool before I write, it will be a long time. I cannot write such a letter as I wish.

"The Republican party of to-day is no more the Republican party of Lincoln, Chase, Seward, and others, than Satan and his followers after their fall are the pure spirits (according to Milton) they once were in heaven.

"It is unnecessary to say that you have my earnest sympathy in your grief. My family join with me in sympathy for you. I will never forget the kind, sympathetic, and able letter you wrote me after our dear Alice's death. I, with many others, will ever hold your husband in grateful remembrance for his characteristic generosity and acts of kindness. He was profoundly in sympathy with the weak, and delighted

in defending them against the aggressions of the strong. I have several times said that he would take a case for a poor man or a widow, where he did not expect a fee, and work just as hard as though he were getting a large fee. I well remember the efficient service he rendered the Government in the late war. I served with him some. Senator Plumb was out here on the fourth, and spoke. I took him with a team to Buckland. He told me that he always had a warm feeling for your husband; that he never knew him to fail in keeping his word. He said that he had been intending to write you a letter of condolence, but hoped that he might see you.

"I have thought about you a great many times since the Colonel's death, and wondered how you stood up under it. I trust that God will sustain you. I am glad that you have noble sons to lean upon. It is a comfort to be able to believe upon solid ground that our departed friends still live, and that ere long we will mingle with them where there will be no more parting.

"Col. Wood and I were agreed that we were separated from this life and entered a purely spiritual state by the act of dying, and that we would enter the spiritual life with the characters we possessed when we left this life, with facilities for eternal development and improvement.

"Sincerely your friend, C. G. ALLEN."

[Mr. Allen formerly resided in Chase County, Kansas.]



CHAPTER XV.

Poem by Sylvester Fowler.—Kind Words from Friends, Old and New.—
Comments of the Press.

When a truly sublime and heroic life is suddenly swept away beyond the boundary of this material and visible sphere of existence, the bereaved souls who were most nearly allied in spiritual kinship and oneness of purpose with that life must always and in some way find expression for their grief. The cruel murder of Colonel Wood was a shock to everyone; but to his old friends and comrades it brought back the memory of his brave and unselfish life, and stirred in their hearts a tumultuous tide of indignation and sorrow for the venting of which the poor flood-gate of common language seemed inadequate. In the wider realm and more expressive language of poetry some of his friends poured forth their surging thoughts in the endeavor "to assuage the bitterness of wrong." The following lyrical poem is from the pen of Sylvester Fowler, of Louisville, Pottawatomie County, Kansas:

SAM WOOD.

"Thou hast left behind
Powers that shall work for thee; air, earth, and skies;
There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies:
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind."

—William Wordsworth.

"There is not the least doubt but this murder was planned by Judge Botkin O'Connor, and other citizens of Hugoton."—Mrs. S. N. Wood.

"With a bullet in his brain—
By a foul assassin slain—

"Prone and lifeless lay Sam Wood,
Pierced with wounds and drenched with blood:

"Killed in presence of his wife,
Faithful partner of his life.

"She nor swooned nor uttered prayer,
Frozen by a mute despair.

"Brennan waved the smoking gun,
Glorying in murder done—

"Savage, dastardly, inhuman,
Wonder is he spared the woman.

- "Like a trained animal,
That obeys the master's call,
- "Signaled, he performed the deed,
And desisted, as agreed.
- "From a window o'er the street
Botkin watched the fiendish feat,
- "Preconcerted, prearranged,
And his wicked hatred changed
- "Into triumph; though he lacked
Nerve and courage for the act,
- "Yet he did not hesitate
To contrive and instigate.
- "Botkin was the principal,
And the greater criminal.
- "What a stain on the fair name
Of our commonwealth! what shame!
- "He a judge! and seal a grudge
With red murder! *he* a judge!
- "Lift the dead man tenderly,
Close the eyes that cannot see;
- "Fold the hands and from his forehead
Wipe the oozing blood:—'tis horrid!
- "He had faults, but who has not?
Shall his virtues be forgot?
- "Champion of the poor and weak,
He had never failed to speak
- "In the cause of the distressed
(Black or white) and the oppressed;
- "Nobly prompt in generous deeds,
Fashioned ever to their needs.
- "Kansas owed him more than ever
She could pay by best endeavor.
- "When bold outlaws swarmed her border,
Spreading ruin and disorder,
- "Then, in every conflict's van,
Wood's name was a talisman;
- "Reverentially they named him,
Praised his valor, proudly claimed him.
- "Has that record been erased,
And our gratitude effaced?
- "By what sign in Kansas free
Shall his name dishonored be?
- "Poet's strain and sculptor's art,
Painter's brush, may do their part.

- "Silver tongues of oratory
Dedicate his name to glory,
- "History contribute aid,
But the debt remains unpaid.
- "Let confusion seize the race—
Ruthless ruin and disgrace—
- "That despises, ostracizes,
Those whose lives are sacrifices,
- "Who stake all for truth and freedom
When they bitterliest need them.
- "Ne'er from tongue or pen of mine
Shall be uttered word or line
- "Questioning the high renown
Of Jim Lane and old John Brown;
- "Very salt and very good;
There were three—and one was Wood.
- "Branson's rescue should alone
For his weaknesses atone;
- "Call them *errors* if you please—
They were eccentricities.
- "When the trumpet blew for war,
Pealed thunder, heard afar,
- "Did he wait till second note
Issued from the brazen throat?
- "When the gallant Lyon fell,
'Mid the battle's fiercest hell,
- "In the deadliest of the fray,
All that sultry summer day—
- "Stemming torrents of retreat,
Splendid even in defeat—
- "Wood withstood the hurricane,
Smoke, and fire, and leaden rain.
- * * * * *
- "Take him kindly to your breast,
Kansas soil, and give him rest."

W. H. T. Wakefield in the Lawrence *Jeffersonian*, July 2, 1891.

"We met Col. Wood on the day he entered the Territory, in July, 1854, and in response to his request showed him the claim which he then took, four miles west of Lawrence. We soon became intimate friends, and remained so until his death. Probably no man in Kansas knew him as he really was better than we did, and we knew him always as a strictly honest, honorable, and upright man, true to his friends and honorable in his methods with the foes which his unyielding sense of

right compelled him to make. His nature seemed as incapable of harboring malice or resentment toward individuals as it was of condoning wrong-doing. His was peculiarly a sympathetic nature, and it was impossible for him to look upon suffering or distress and not do his best to relieve it. Especially was this true in reference to women and children, both of whom seemed ever under his protection.

"Personally, he was a pure man, of quiet, simple tastes, clean in thought and language, never having used liquor, tobacco, or other stimulants, and never using a word not fit for refined society.

"His sense of humor was unusually large, his wit quick and sparkling, and his conversation often amusing as well as instructive. While a close student of books, he was also a correct reader of men, and rarely in error in his judgment of them. Brave he was, but never quarrelsome, and was slow to take offence at personal insults, though prompt to reprove wrong-doing.

"His industry and energy were phenomenal, his perfect health and temperate habits enabling him to stand an incredible amount of labor. During his memorable canvass of the State when a candidate for Congress, in 1882, he often, for days at a time, never slept in a bed nor undressed, being constantly speaking, writing, and traveling, with no time for rest. Few men of his years had done so much hard physical and mental labor.

"He was a well-read lawyer, quick to see the salient points of a case, and had he confined himself to practice, would have been eminently successful. But the object and work of his life was to fight wrong, to resist oppression, to aid the oppressed; and this he did openly and manfully. In whatever he undertook, his forcible nature was felt, and his opponents ever found their hands full of business.

"Few men had more or warmer friends, and none ever found their confidence in him betrayed. When the legal machinery of the State was used to entrap him to his death, he faced the great peril willingly rather than his bondsmen should suffer.

"In his family relations he was a model of tenderness and kind consideration. The attachment between him and his noble wife, and the perfect harmony of their lives, was as beautiful as rare. The high character and intelligence of their children is the best evidence of how well their duty as parents had been performed.

"He was our friend, and we mourn him as such, but he was the friend of the people, of the poor and the struggling, and in their hearts shall be his noblest monument."

"There is entirely too much gloating in the Republican

press over the murder of Col. Wood. Not all Republican papers are rejoicing over this method of disposing of a champion of popular rights, but very many of the bitter partisan sheets are, and they do not hesitate to slander the dead man, who made it a rule to never speak evil of any man. ‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’ ”

“ Perhaps no man ever lived who has been more slandered and lied about than the late S. N. Wood. He has been accused of corruption in politics and dishonesty in business by almost the entire old party press of Kansas, yet none have ever presented the slightest evidence of the truth of the charge. For thirty-seven years we have known him intimately in both politics and business, yet never knew him to take unfair advantage in either.”

“ In all the long-continued denunciation of Sam Wood by the prostitute press, can one find a single specification and proof of wrong-doing? No, not one; but only vague and general denunciation, while his good deeds and upright life are known to all the State.”

“ Wood’s strongest characteristic was reverence and respect for law. Judge Frank Doster, in an address at his grave, said that Wood had unusual respect for courts and their decisions, and always counseled obedience to them, even when wrong.

“ ‘No principle or conscience?’ ”

“ Only yesterday Dr. Ed R. Allen, United States veterinary surgeon at Kansas City, said to us: ‘In 1874, when crops had failed and the farmers of Chase County were very poor, Wood had raised over 500 bushels of wheat, worth nearly two dollars per bushel, but to my certain knowledge he gave away every bushel of it. I was in charge of his barn that winter, and nearly every day a farmer would come with an order from Wood for wheat, until all was gone, and I know that not a bushel was ever paid for.’ ”

“ When old man Branson was arrested in 1855 by bogus Sheriff Sam Jones, to show the people that the bogus laws could be enforced, it was S. N. Wood who saw that to acknowledge and yield to the illegal and tyrannical statutes was fatal to the Free State cause, and it was he who had the courage and force of character to organize a party and rescue Branson. This was the critical turning-point in the history of Kansas. Had the bogus statutes—enacted by non-residents of the Territory, who owed their legislative seats to armed invasion and violent seizure of the polls—had these statutes been recognized as valid and binding, Kansas would certainly have been admitted as a slave State, and slavery would in all probability be still supreme and in full control of the government.”

From David Wood, of Dallas, Colorado.

"Words failed to express my gratitude and that of the rest of the family of S. N. Wood to the press and good people of Kansas for their universal condemnation of his cowardly taking off. Only those who knew him well or intimately know how well he loved the people, and how, without hope of reward, his best efforts were continually given in their behalf. Talking with him a few weeks ago on the subject, I said to him: 'Father, if the breach keeps widening between capital and labor, will it not lead to open and civil war?' His reply was: 'I don't know; I hope not; but take my advice, and if it does come, no matter what the odds or the inducements offered to the contrary, you take the side of the people.' Could words say more? And it now rests with the people of Kansas that a fair trial be had and the murderer of their friend be brought to justice."

From Martin Woodall, of Netawke, Kansas.

"When reading the account of Sam Wood's murder, I thought we ought to start a subscription and engage the very best talent in the United States as counsel at the trial. I feel that no public man's life is safe in Kansas, if he dares to speak against Governor Humphrey or perhaps the Republican party. I do hope you will work up the interest in your paper, and see to it that justice is done.

"We cannot expect that the district judge will give justice, because it is very plain in my mind that he dismissed the court on that morning on purpose for the murder to take place. There must be some means to take a change of venue. I notice that most of the Republican and Democratic papers say but very little on the subject. This is evidence that they think 'silence is golden.'"

From the Tiffin (Ohio) *Plow and Hammer*.

"The friends of Col. Sam N. Wood, of Kansas, were greatly shocked to hear that he had been most foully assassinated at Hugoton, in that State, by one James Brennan. The information came by wire, and is still very meagre. Col. Wood has been a noted figure in Kansas history for more than thirty-five years. He moved there from Ohio long before the admission of the State into the Union, and at once became permanently identified with the Free Soil party. Being an able attorney and a brilliant orator, he immediately became a popular leader, and did valiant service for the cause he had espoused. For a long time his life was sought by the pro-slavery leaders. During the civil war he achieved distinction as an officer of the Union army, and reached the rank of colonel. He was very prominent in Kansas politics, and oftentimes occupied a seat in the House or Senate; the last time as

Speaker of the House. Twice he was a candidate for Congress, to which on the last occasion he and his friends claimed his election, and his contest for the seat at Washington, although unsuccessful, will long be remembered in that body."

"Our Ohio friends can never realize what they have lost by the death of Col. Sam Wood, of Kansas. We had been in correspondence with him since the Cincinnati conference. On June 18, in the office of W. F. Rightmire, of Topeka, Kansas, he wrote us the following:

"I can be in Cincinnati July 12 and can commence work in Ohio on Monday, July 13. After talking with Brother Rightmire, have concluded to do this. Arrange meetings for me from July 13 to August 5, winding up with your State convention. You can have two speeches on Saturday and occasionally one extra meeting during the week. Will stop whenever you desire. I am hunting up everything I can on John Sherman.
Yours,
S. N. WOOD."

"TOPEKA, KAN., June 29, 1891.

"H. F. Barnes, Tiffin, O.

"DEAR SIR,—Your letter of June 22d has been given to me by Sister Wood, with a request that I should answer the same, as one of the most intimate friends of Col. Wood and the person with whom he had been planning to make the summer's campaign for the relief of our industrial classes. It is with sorrow that I have to notify you that Col. Wood's services in the cause of the oppressed have been brought to an untimely end, as he was stricken down by the dastardly hand of an assassin on the 23d of June, at the door of the courthouse in Stevens County, and, as we believe, the result of a political conspiracy to remove him, and to silence his voice and stop his labors in the cause of humanity. The murder was most brutal, as he was shot in the back while unarmed, in the presence of his wife, and when he fled, pursued by the assassin, and shot at the second time, and the third time, and each wound given a mortal one. It seems to me as though every movement in the cause of humanity must have its Jugernaut of human sacrifice. As the cause of liberty for the African slave received a great impetus in the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy at Alton, Ill., so in the struggle to break the chains of slavery that now oppress sixty millions of our industrial toilers, Col. Wood has become the first sacrifice, and by his death and the manner of it, it seems to me that the success of our cause is assured.

W. F. RIGHTMIRE."

From the St. Louis *National Reformer*.

"The killing of Sam Wood, at Hugoton, Kansas, is the result of a bitter, partisan, political hatred, fanned into a flame by

the corrupt methods of the Republican political bosses of that State. He is dead. His voice is silenced and his arm unnerved, but the spirit of his manly resistance to wrong and corruption will live forever in the hearts and actions of those whose cause he espoused and for which he gave up his life. His spirit has gone to join the innumerable throng that have starved to death or died of a broken heart as the result of a pernicious system that has grown out of such corrupt methods as have long characterized Republican politics in Kansas. While we drop a tear over the inanimate form of this manly man, let us press forward to finish the work he had so nobly begun. The monument to brave Sam Wood's memory will be erected on the ruins of the downfall of political bossism in Kansas. The structure will be reared in 1892."

From the Arkansas City (Kan.) *Dispatch*.

"That the infamous scoundrel, Judge Botkin, was implicated in the murder of S. N. Wood there is little doubt. And there is nothing strange about it to one who has read the evidence that was brought against Botkin in the Senate impeachment trial last winter. The evidence convicted him of malfeasance in office, bribery, perjury, black-mail, and drunkenness; and yet the Senate acquitted him, because he was a Republican judge, and because the trial was brought about through the effort of S. N. Wood, who had been under the ban of the State-house crowd ever since his honesty compelled him to denounce the rotten outfit. Is it any wonder that Botkin should now become a murderer?"

Henry B. Blackwell in *The Woman's Journal*, July 12, 1891.

"Col. Samuel N. Wood, for forty years a faithful friend of woman suffrage, a man of strong character and marked ability, was brutally murdered on June 23d, while in attendance at court in Hugoton, Kansas, by a notorious desperado. At the time of his death, Col. Wood was prominent in the Farmers' Alliance, and he was clerk of the House Judiciary Committee in the last Legislature. The passage of the woman suffrage law by the Kansas House in 1891 was largely due to his skillful management, as was the submission of the woman suffrage amendment, twenty-four years ago, by the Legislature of 1867. The exceptional liberality of the Kansas laws towards women is largely due to him. It is an evidence of his genuine interest that when a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1857 he wrote to Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, and Lucy Stone, asking each of them to suggest equitable legal provisions regulating the relations of wives, mothers, and widows. Lucy Stone, then residing in Orange, N. J., replied. With her baby on her knee, she wrote out a form which, Col. Wood used to say, he succeeded in intro-

ducing, almost word for word. He was identified with the struggle for freedom from his boyhood.

"Col. Sam Wood was an interesting figure in the last House of Representatives. Though not a member, his influence was greater than that of a member. He espoused the cause of the People's party, and when he was appointed clerk of the House Judiciary Committee, it was because he was known as a shrewd lawyer, and it was through this committee that his greatest influence was felt.

"None of the Alliance speakers in Kansas could hold an audience like Col. Wood. He was not an orator, but his almost inexhaustible fund of anecdote placed him in the good graces of his enemies. He had been a close Bible student; his comparisons were generally taken from the Bible when he was making a political speech, and his practical applications were always amusing.

"My own acquaintance with Col. Wood dates back twenty-four years. In 1867 Col. Wood and ex-Gov. Charles Robinson organized the first woman suffrage campaign ever made. Suffragists should never forget the unselfish devotion of those two men. They called a State convention, which met in March, at Topeka, and was attended by Lucy Stone and myself. There Wood arranged for us a series of meetings in every organized county in Kansas, some forty-five in number, accompanied us, and took part in many of them. His energy, wit, and imperturbable good-humor made the journey delightful, in spite of the privations of a new country just emerging from a wilderness. Col. Wood had a genuine respect for women. He cherished the memory of his mother. His wife stood by him during the 'border ruffian' struggle and to the end of his life with heroic courage and fidelity. During the siege of Lawrence, when ammunition was almost exhausted, Mrs. Wood, in her carriage, went through the enemy's lines, concealed powder, cartridges, and percussion-caps in her clothing, and brought back, unsuspected and unchallenged, the supply which enabled the Free State men to hold the fort. With many eccentricities and defects incident to the rough life of a frontiersman, Sam N. Wood will always be remembered with gratitude by the friends of women's enfranchisement."

From a political opponent, the *Topeka Capital*.

"When the murderous bullet from Brennan's revolver crashed into Sam Wood's brain, as notable a Kansan died as the history of the State can furnish. In his way, the doughty lawyer, pioneer, and politician was as striking and picturesque a character as Jim Lane, while his period of public activity was much more extended. The story of his life in Kansas was as dramatic as the manner of his death. There were a

thousand occasions when Sam Wood seemed in more imminent peril of a taking off at the hands of his enemies. That he escaped so many times, and safely ran the gauntlet of Free Soil days, of the later lawlessness, and of the county-seat warfare, only to be shot down at last in time of general peace and good order, two years after the last county-seat contest had been closed, is remarkable.

"Sam Wood was a man of affairs, a partisan always and in everything, loving the excitement and danger of frontier life; a born fighter, asking and offering no quarter, but as brave a man as any that cast his lot with the anti-slavery heroes thirty years ago. For his services at that time, and in building up the State after the war, his memory deserves a grateful recognition. The cowardly scoundrel who murdered him should be hanged as high as Haman, and deserves no sympathy, whatever his fate. Sam Wood had many enemies, but they were not assassins. Cold-blooded murders have been extremely rare in Kansas, vicious and bitter as the feeling frequently became in such contests as that between Woodsdale and Hugoton.

"Sam Wood leaves a faithful wife and a fine family of sons, who are active and useful citizens. Mrs. Wood was her husband's best friend and strongest supporter in all his troubles and contentions, and we are not surprised to read that she was at his side when the murderer Brennan fired upon him. In her bereavement there are not a few hearts in Kansas that will sincerely sympathize with this brave and faithful wife.

"Two weeks ago he was in Topeka, happy in the prospect of a bountiful crop in Stevens County. He had great confidence in his county, and seemed to like it better for what he had passed through there. He was always brave and courageous, and perhaps no one is mentioned more in the early history of Kansas than Col. S. N. Wood."

Jim M. Kane in *The Nonconformist*.

"I have known him since '57. While living there were few, if any, that could molest, and none to make him afraid. Brave and kind; courageous and mild. True as a friend, also as an enemy. There are none without faults, and how far may one fall short of being a righteous judge when looking up the wrongs of others? Sam Wood is dead! 'The work of the Kansas Senate is completed.' His blood crieth aloud from the ground for the redemption of an oppressed people, in whose behalf he was ever found laboring. As the judge greeted Mrs. S. N. Wood and her lady friend, did he not roll the cherished thought upon his whiskey-burned brain, and wrap the happy consolation within his black, murderous

heart as he said, 'Ladies, how do you do?' 'The curfew bell rang last night—Sam Wood shall die to-day.' 'Yes, we brought the filthy lucre nearer the court, to pay Bill Hackney for watching Jimmy's case before my court, and will have plenty left to pay for whiskey.' Verily the day has come when the Republican dynamite party of Kansas shall be blotted out. When all become so corrupt and reckless that not one of the party can do a wrong, it is past ripe, and should be hidden from the face of the earth. You have taken the life of Sam Wood as the same hellish devils did Lovejoy's, Lincoln's, and Garfield's; but the spirit of Sam Wood, along with the others, will ever abide and work with the oppressed until the hydra-headed monster of corruption, theft, and murder shall be washed from the land. Sam Wood is dead! Illy could we spare him. But it is said: God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform.' Sam Wood is not dead; his body is at rest, but that indomitable spirit will yet abide with the Kansans, and ever strive for the right and the oppressed. Close up the file—forward!"

Annie L. Diggs in the Topeka *Advocate*.

"Kansas without 'Sam Wood.' What a sad, strange sensation comes with the thought! But come to think again, Kansas can never be without Sam Wood. His doings are a large part of the history of the State. From the first Free State days up to the date of his cruel death, Sam Wood was in and of and vigorously working for whatever was largest and wisest for the State he helped to make. As long as Kansas shall be a State, so long will the imprint and the impulse of this brave man be felt and kept. He was a 'born fighter'—so the newspaper writers have said. Yes; but he was always fighting for the weak ones; fighting because he loved freedom and hated oppression; fighting for some unpopular cause because he believed in it. His convictions were no limp, nerveless affairs; they struck out through his great muscular arms and through his clenched fists.

"But he was tired of this fighting era. He longed for the time when truth and justice and freedom need not be fought for. He told me this not many months ago. Many who read this will recall an occasion when a brother in our reform ranks spoke hotly and bitterly of monopolists. Threatening words were used by the indignant, excited speaker. A woman gravely rebuked the heated, strife-provoking utterances. There followed a solemn, never-to-be-forgotten scene. Commenting upon this, Sam Wood said much to me of his devout belief that wars would cease when women came to share with men the duties of state management. 'I am tired, so tired, of trying to settle great questions and right great wrongs by go-

ing to war.' This he said to me, and much more in the same strain. Ah! if I had known that we Kansas women were soon to lose our always faithful friend, I would have written every word he said that time; he said it all so feelingly, so gently. His Quaker ancestry was telling then. His Quaker mother's teaching was bearing fruit at last.

"Twice have I tried in vain to write a sentence telling of his great constant tenderness towards his wife, and twice have my tear-blinded eyes kept me from writing. Ah me! what sort of monster was it—surely not a man—who could shoot him to death right in the presence of his wife—the wife who all her life had been cared for tenderly as a beloved child by this gentle-hearted man of whom they say, 'He was a born fighter'?

"Oh, poor stricken sister! many loyal Kansas women send you words of sympathy, which would, if possible, ease a little of the pain of your great loss. We send to you the thanks that are your due, in that you kept before him such a pattern of womanhood as made him ever the strong champion of large justice to all women.

"Col. Wood was not a man of compliments or sentiment toward women. His was the noble chivalry which deals out justice and equality of rights. I am honored that this man was my friend."

R. B. Fry, of Finleyville, Pa., in *The Nonconformist*.

"I read with mixed sorrow and anger of the savage and blood-thirsty work of the monopoly-hired assassins, directed by the political tories of the 'gone-out party,' in the horrible butchery of Col. S. N. Wood. Let his martyrdom be a warning to the liberty-loving people of the State of Kansas.

"No doubt can remain in the minds of honest men that the leaders of the Republican party are a band of organized assassins. Twice they have shed blood to protect themselves in their villainy. Do not wait for the third. Let the people arm themselves, and if nothing but blood will satisfy them, give them enough of it—go into their dens after them. Inscribe upon your banners, '*Lex talionis*,' and hunt the butchers from the face of the earth. For every life the vicious brutes take, demand of them ten for it. Make the bloody assassins feel that there is a slumbering power in the virtue and suffering of a people to punish crime as well as reward virtue."

From *The Spirit of Kansas*, July 4, 1891.

"Col. S. N. Wood is dead. A weak tool, named James Brennan, shot him from behind, and is primarily guilty of his murder. Judge Botkin and County Attorney O'Connor, in public opinion, are more guilty, as being direct instigators.

The Republican State Senate that whitewashed Botkin in the face of evidence sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced jury, in his late impeachment trial, may be held responsible for the murder. Finally, the entire management of the State and national Republican party may stand accused of this and many other similar crimes.

"Sam Wood, as he was familiarly called, is dead. But dead he will now prove to be a greater power than while living. God is God, and His hand may be plainly seen to-day. Let those scoff and revile who will. The murder of Sam Wood is simply one little incident. We take it and his work as a subject. His murder has called forth a mountain of not always judicious comment. Death usually softens prejudice and partisan bias. It has to some extent done so in this case. All admit that Wood was a man of pre-eminent ability. Others, who have known him best and longest, concede to him remarkable intellectual power. Some men of judgment make him the strongest man in this respect yet produced by the State. No one denies his remarkable power, but some would explain its quality, excuse its exercise, or qualify its character, as if something of the kind is necessary. But very few give the man the credit his memory deserves, because few knew him well. He was a man of nerve and action, and seldom felt the necessity of wasting his energy in giving his reasons.

"His enemies, and even those not enemies, say he was unscrupulous. Even many of his friends and followers, not able to comprehend the man, quietly admit this charge. That he was generous to a fault, all who knew anything of the man admit. He would always give to friend or foe if they were in need. The moment that Brennan fired the last shot, and while Botkin stood chuckling inwardly over the gasping form, his heart would have been touched if he had seen them in want. In the face of want and suffering he was all tenderness and compassion. Such was the heart of this man! No woman's was ever more charitable, kind, loving, forgiving. These qualities there are none to deny who knew much of the man. Kansas abounds in evidence of their truth.

"But in politics they say he was unscrupulous. This we deny. Sam Wood was all conscience, all honor. He was a rare type of a self-sacrificing, courageous, aggressive reformer made a politician by circumstances. He was peace-loving and domestic, qualities derived from his Quaker parentage. But above all he loved justice, and this, too, he inherited. Now take all these qualities,—and, directly or indirectly, they are admitted to have been characteristic of S. N. Wood,—combine them in one man, and place him among such conditions as we have had for the last forty years, and what do we find? Let us see. To begin with, remarkable intellectual ability; uncom-

mon, restless energy; soft and tender compassion, leading to unwonted generosity of character; an oppressive love of justice; an open, frank, honest manner; a conscience of the highest type, and indisputable courage that never wavers before his convictions of duty; total self-abnegation. This was Col. S. N. Wood in his youth, middle life, and in age.

"He was first known as a champion of the slave as a man, and freedom as an institution. This brought him to Kansas in the early days. History will do him justice there. His ability, coolness, and daring enabled him to readily meet slaveholder plots with counter-plots. He was prominent among those who thwarted the enemies of freedom.

"Then came the Republican dynasty. No political party ever came into power with purer or higher motives. Its inspiration was conscience, its shibboleth justice; its watchword freedom. Honor and integrity, manhood and morality constituted its platform. Its enemies scornfully called it the 'God and morality party.'

"Naturally enough, S. N. Wood became a leader in such a party. His sympathies, his energies, his conscience were all enlisted. His sincerity, like that of many others, was genuine. The war period absorbed several years, during which individuals speculated and grew rich upon the necessities of the hour, but the party remained true to its principles. With the return of peace came a wonderful change. Old party demagogues of all shades rushed to the dominant party. Old pro-slavery schemers became Republican leaders. Unconscionable speculators with no political principle, but who had grown rich robbing the Government, hurried into the party, assumed leadership, and demanded the offices. Immense corporate interests grew suddenly into power. The old political methods of the pro-slavery oligarchy were again introduced. The political conscience became seared; justice was no longer thought of; the equality of mankind was scorned, as class privileges were put up and sold, more boldly than the Roman empire was ever sold, to the highest bidder.

"Sam Wood was not alone in his disgust at this Republican degradation. Thousands of the best and earliest Republicans, such as Lyman Trumbull, Gen. Palmer, Gov. Koerner, Gratz Brown, Charles Robinson, and others, left the party, some unwisely to go to the Democracy, and others with keener insight and more susceptible conscience, like Col. Wood, went into a new party. Both old parties had become one in slavish devotion to corporate and moneyed interests. It took fifteen years or more for many people to see this. S. N. Wood saw it intuitively, and if he afterward dallied with the Democracy, it was simply to use it to break the dominant State party.

"But why do they call him unscrupulous? Simply be-

cause he had learned all the deceitful and wicked ways of party politics. He soon learned the methods of Missouri bushwhackers, and could always meet them at their own game. This was always unscrupulous. When Republican methods became quite as bad, when the party became the oppressors of the people, and resorted to all the unfair means so well known to politicians to blind the eyes of the people and to make them believe that white is black, as the Topeka *Capital* is doing to-day, Sam Wood understood it all. He had learned their game. His conscience revolted, and of all the men in the State he was the best qualified to beat them at their own game. He simply fought the devil with fire, and his fire was burning hot, and flamed up when theirs grew dull. Wherever injustice was threatened, there was Sam Wood in its way. It was this that maddened his enemies. With him it was conscience to defend the weak, and he spent his life battling on that line. His purpose in life was grand and ennobling. His methods were never so unscrupulous as those of his enemies, and the ends he sought were always better. He was unscrupulous because he could usually see farther and clearer than his opponents, and the charge may be likened to that of the beaten school-boy who charges that his companions did not play fair. It is safe to add that the State would have had more justice, more liberty, more prosperity, more conscience, with Sam Wood as absolute dictator, than it now has.

"Sam Wood hated hypocrisy. When he saw the temple of the living God defiled and made a channel of speculation, when Republican phylacteries were made broad, and under their shield the liberties of the people sold to the money-changers, he threw his whole power against the plutonic effort and declared for the masses of the people, who were being despoiled. As he disputed every foot of ground, his chagrined and annoyed and often defeated opponents raised the cry that he was unscrupulous, without regard to their own infernal methods.

"If S. N. Wood was not all this, why did he not die an honored and worshiped millionaire? He knew the ways of stock jobbers and railway robbers. His ability and shrewdness and tact a thousand times exceeded that of a Gould or a Rockefeller. Why did he not profit by it? Simply because he was not unscrupulous,—because of his conscience.

"Sam Wood was never honored with high office. Why not? He was an adept in political methods. He knew all the ways that are so dark and mean in our politics, but he never used them to his profit. It was only to defeat political infamy that he used this knowledge. No one in the State, perhaps no one in the nation, could have stood higher than he in the political arena, if he had betrayed the people as the majority of

his party leaders did do, if he had sold his conscience and sought emolument. Instead of this, he died fighting for the people, for justice, the brotherhood of man. Call this unscrupulous who may. Those who know not the meaning of words, nor have a conception of eternal truth beyond that of the beasts of the field, must be allowed to gabble and revel in ignorance and wallow in their own mental and moral squalor."

"The murder of S. N. Wood was a political crime for which the Republican leaders of Kansas will be held responsible. They are more guilty than the weak tool who did their bidding. There is every indication that it was done with the knowledge of Judge Botkin, and the shadow of the crime rests heavily on the State Senate that whitewashed this miserable and disgraceful official on the late impeachment trial."

Will Bolton in the *Kiowa County Signal*.

"No brainier man ever trod the free soil of Kansas than Colonel S. N. Wood, and no braver man ever lived. He was closely identified with Kansas history, being the first man to organize a school district in the young Territory, even before Statehood was conferred. * * * As a fighter, he had few equals; as a shrewd, calculating schemer, no superior. Let his faults be buried with him and his memory honored by the great State he so nobly served in its hour of peril. Let us remember Sam Wood as a Kansan, honor his good deeds, and forget his wrongs."

"As a fighter, Colonel Wood had few equals, and his services to Kansas in an early day were invaluable and will be treasured as long as time shall last. Anent this quality of his make-up, a friend, but political opponent, said to him not long since: 'Sam, what will you do when you get to heaven, where there is nothing to fight?' 'I'll take an excursion or two over to fight the devil, and come back to haunt you fellows who wish I were dead.'"

From the *Lucerne (Mo.) Standard*.

"Colonel Wood was never a resident of Hugoton. The charge that he had committed crimes, or advised them, is not only false, but without a shadow of evidence. The five men that were shot down like dogs, were shot by the same Hugoton gang simply because they were friends of Sam Wood. As a Republican, he was idolized by the party; but seeing the corruption of its leaders in Kansas and elsewhere, he not only had the independence to leave its ranks, but raised his voice against those who were leeching the people. In reality, he was a Union-Labor man. Unscrupulous politicians, being unable to meet him in argument, resorted to villainy as their defense,

and editors of the same stripe, or else, lacking the individuality to boldly mark out a line of their own, followed the same rut. As he was great, they envied him; as he was a stumbling-block in their way, they murdered him."

From the *Pottawatomie County Times*.

"By far the ablest editor in Southwestern Kansas is Judge H. N. Lester, of the *Syracuse (Hamilton County) Journal*. This is no palaver; he is so recognized by all parties. A recent report of the State Historical Society published one of his speeches. He is the Nestor of the newspaper business in his part of the State, having been in the harness many years. He is a staunch Republican, and the personal friend of ex-Congressman Peters. No man in the State differed more widely with Col. Wood politically. The *Journal* has opposed the People's party unequivocally. But Lester is manly and honorable and is opposed to conspiracy and murder. He does not allow his political affiliations to interfere with his sentiments in reference to Col. Wood's assassination, but unreservedly denounces the foul crime. We copy his three articles on the subject—they need no comment:

"Five sheriffs of the Thirty-second Judicial District were present in the little town of Hugoton the day Sam Wood was murdered, and the pistol that did the killing was borrowed from Sheriff Neumyer, of Stanton County."

"Judge Botkin, in a reported interview, says: "I have known Brennan for six or seven years as a peaceable, law-abiding citizen." We do not know Brennan, but reliable men in this city do, and they class him among the "toughs." Botkin's endorsement strengthens our belief in the truth of what they say.'

"Col. Sam Wood was a born agitator, a sort of "stormy petrel" in public affairs, whose tragic "taking off" was but the last act in the drama of a life full of peril and adventure, wherein he was always at the front, as nervy and brave a man as ever trod Kansas soil. A man who, if he had maintained a consistent course and the convictions of his earlier life, would have reached a high place in councils of state and the estimation of his fellow-men. As it is, his death by assassination at the age of 66 years is not an unlooked-for happening in a community where State senators and influential journals defend and lionize convicted murderers feted and feasted at banquet boards to which the highest dignitaries of the State are invited. That it was a cold-blooded and cowardly assassination there can be no question, and we are convinced from the attendant circumstances that it was the result of a conspiracy of which Brennan was the instrument, and not because of any personal feud between him and Col. Wood. We have not much hope of Brennan's conviction and punishment. The witnesses are already on deck to swear him clear, and powerful influences at his back. But the authorities must not falter, nor leave one stone unturned in their effort to mete out punishment upon this red-handed slayer of his fellow man."

Col. S. F. Norton in the *Chicago Sentinel*, July, 1891.

"The murder of Col. S. N. Wood, so well known through-

out the United States, on account of his connection with the reform forces, will be received with a shock by our readers everywhere. It was only last week that we enrolled his name in the list of People's party speakers. Col. Wood was at the Cincinnati Conference and served as one of its secretaries. We can only say of him briefly that in private life he was genial, quiet, pleasant, and gentlemanly. In public life he was an eloquent and forcible speaker, an able writer, and always true to his convictions and fearless in advocacy of what he believed to be right. It was our good fortune to meet him personally sixteen years ago, while crossing the plains from Pueblo, Colorado, to the San Juan mining regions. We have counted him as a personal friend since we first met him years ago in the reform work.

"We cannot help wondering if his murder (for such it was—cold-blooded and dastardly) is the inauguration of a 'Mafia' plan of slaughtering some of the 'too conspicuous' workers in the People's party. The old Greenback party lost not a few of its ablest and most trusted leaders by cold-blooded murders inspired by unknown assassins—hired by the Hessians of the money power.

"A letter has been written by our dead friend's widow in which she boldly charges that the killing of her husband, Col. Wood, was a premeditated murder, and that a no less personage than Judge Botkin was instrumental in the affair. She stood bravely by his side when he fell, and with a wife's heroic devotion attempted even to get between him and the cruel bullets that were fired into his defenseless body. In closing her letter, she says:

"I have not the slightest expectation that any of these murderers, whether in official or unofficial life, will ever be brought to justice; but I know, and thank God, that His eternal justice never fails."

From the *Chicago Times*.

"The results of many years under the control of 'the party of God and morality' do not appear to be thoroughly admirable in Kansas. A longer record of crimes of a political nature can be cited from this banner Republican State than from any other commonwealth of equal apparent civilization. The Kansas court-house fight has become a byword. The apportionment of county-seats among rival and ambitious towns has led to the shedding of blood. That which elsewhere is determined by ballot is done there by bullets. There is every reason to believe now that the cold-blooded murder of 'Sam' Wood at Hugoton, the other day, had its cause in politics. The Governor of the State has indicated his belief that something more than a mere private feud was at the bot-

tom of the crime by taking the prosecution of the suspected men out of the hands of the county prosecuting attorney. Yet, as the case must be tried before Judge Botkin, whose impeachment for drunkenness Wood was chiefly instrumental in procuring, the possibility of further scandal is not wholly averted."

From the *Topeka Republican*.

"If there ever was a brave man, that man was Col. Wood. If there was ever a true man, that man was Col. Wood. If there was an honest man, that man was Col. Wood. No abler man was ever in Kansas. He was persecuted and finally murdered for righteousness sake. He had a passion for freedom. He believed that freedom cannot long exist where there is a corrupt judge, and in his life and in his death he was and is a witness against the infamy of judicial corruption in this State. His life and death are in many ways like that of Elijah P. Lovejoy, and will bear the same final fruit—a larger liberty and a higher life. We are glad to know that he was a lawyer—a lawyer in the full sense of the term. He loved liberty. James Russell Lowell sang :

"A poet cannot strive for despotism;
His harp falls shattered; for it still must be
The instincts of great spirits to be free,
And the sworn foes of cunning barbarism.'

"So a lawyer and a real lawyer cannot strive for despotism. Only the inferior natures lick the foot of power, as Caliban did. 'It still must be the instincts of great spirits to be free.' That instinct was the life of Col. Wood. He will grow in the minds of all but born slaves and lick-spittles. More and more he will be appreciated. He was killed because he fought judicial baseness in every form."

From the *Topeka Advocate*.

"Ere this paper reaches our readers they will all have learned of the brutal murder of Col. S. N. Wood, at Hugoton. Whether, as the press has indicated, the murder grew out of the county-seat fight of Stevens County, or was instigated by some other cause, it was most cowardly and brutal, both in its conception and execution. There are some facts not yet very thoroughly circulated that would seem to indicate that the county-seat fight was not alone the inciting cause. Mr. Wakefield, of *The Jeffersonian*, in his issue of the 25th, makes the following startling statement:

"Two weeks ago we endeavored to persuade Wood not to go to Hugoton, and told him that a Topeka lawyer had just told us that *he had advised the people of Hugoton to shoot Wood on sight, assuring them that no punishment would follow;* and the lawyer added that Wood would surely be killed soon.'

"It is to be regretted that Mr. Wakefield did not publish the name of this Topeka lawyer. It would be interesting to know by whom he was authorized to guarantee immunity from punishment for such a crime. There is a dark chapter of this tragedy yet to be unfolded, and the people of the entire State should with one voice demand that the present mystery be probed to the bottom. If the statement of Mr. Wakefield is correct (and there is no reason to doubt it), there has evidently been a conspiracy behind this murder in which those in position to make good a guarantee of safety, as well as the professional gentleman in question, have undoubtedly participated. The Lawrence *Journal* says the disposition to attach political significance to this murder is criminal. If this be true, mark us among the criminals. That is our opinion of it, and if we mistake not, the facts will soon be brought to light that will fully justify such opinion."

From Hon. George L. Douglas, of Wichita, Kan., August, 1892.

"I look upon the cold-blooded and brutal murder of Col. Wood as one of the most cowardly and dastardly deeds in the history of this country, and I have never doubted that Brennan was, either openly or secretly, encouraged by others to perpetrate the crime."

From the Leavenworth *Times*.

"Sam Wood was brave and true when brave and true men stood shoulder to shoulder to repel the enemies of Kansas. No man who stood with Sam Wood in the dark days of the '50's has a word to say against him now. Those who speak ill of him now are men who came in to enjoy what Sam Wood did much to create—free, prosperous Kansas. Let Sam Wood rest. Those who knew him can find enough of good to say of him without speaking of his faults. Those who think only of his faults did not know him well enough to speak of him."

From *The Kansas Farmer*.

"Ere this time our readers will have heard of the cruel, brutish, fiendish murder of Colonel S. N. Wood, and, like ours, their hearts are truly sad to-day over so fearful an ending of that true, noble, brave, heroic friend and defender of the down-trodden and oppressed. Those who truly knew the man keenly feel that when the assassin's bullet entered the heart and brain of Colonel Sam Wood, the spirit of one of the noblest of earth took its flight and bade farewell to a numerous host of mourning friends. Whether, as claimed by his enemies, the atrocious crime was the mad outgrowth of the Stevens county-seat fight, or was the heinous consummation of a foul, fiendish, cold-blooded conspiracy from another and most diabolical source, it blots the fair name of our State as one of the most

cowardly, malicious, Satanical murders that ever polluted our blood-stained soil.

"After a most careful analysis of the tragedy and its surroundings, we have no hesitancy whatever in stating it as our firm conviction that the Stevens county-seat fight furnished only a pretext or excuse for one of the most heinously planned and premeditated murders ever chronicled in the blood-stained history of barbarity. Even Guiteau would not murder the President in the presence of Mrs. Garfield, but the fiend incarnate who assassinated Colonel Wood deliberately murdered him in the presence of his loving, true, and noble wife.

"The history of Kansas in its struggle for freedom does not contain a brighter jewel or more heroic patriot than the name of Colonel S. N. Wood. The settlers of '54 and '60 can never forget that in those dark and bloody days Colonel Wood was a tower of strength to the cause of freedom. He was not only at the front during our country's peril, but his life has ever since been closely woven in the history of our great State. Always pleading for and assisting the needy and distressed, and despising meanness, hypocrisy, and political chicanery and artful subterfuges, which he never failed to boldly denounce, he soon gained the bitter enmity of the most disreputable political schemers. These barnacles have never missed an opportunity to assail his fair name and besmirch his noble character, until it became fashionable to abuse him and a mark of bad repute to speak a good word for him. He endured it all with heroic patience, and when the mists of prejudice shall have cleared away, the true greatness and nobility of this friend of the masses will shine forth in a most remarkable halo of glorious deeds and virtues.

"The earthly remains of our friend and brother were laid to rest in the cemetery at Cottonwood Falls on Saturday last, in the presence of his bereaved family and hundreds of neighbors and friends from all parts of the State."

From the Lawrence *Jeffersonian*.

"It now lacks but a few weeks of thirty-seven years since we met S. N. Wood on the spot where the University now stands, and showed him the claim which he took that day, four miles west of town, where Mr. Bigsby now lives. From that time until his death we were intimate friends, and for several years were associated with him in editing the *Daily State Journal*, of Topeka, and we have known him only as a strictly honest and large-hearted man, true to his friends and without malice toward the enemies which one of his positive nature was compelled to make. But nothing is more to his credit than the fact that no really good man was ever his enemy, but only those whose rascality he had rebuked. S. N. Wood was by

nature a student both of books and men, and had acquired a wide information on many different subjects. He had served seven terms in the State Legislature, was three times chairman of the Judiciary Committee and one term Speaker of the House. Much of the best legislation of the State was originated by him, especially such as protects the poor and the rights of women and children."

From the Emporia Republican.

"Some of the Republican papers are making vicious attacks upon Sam Wood, doing all in their power to blacken his reputation. That Sam Wood was not a saint we all know, but he had so great a share of good qualities as to make those who knew him best respect him most. He was brave and true when brave and true men stood shoulder to shoulder to repel the enemies of Kansas. No man who stood with Sam Wood in the dark days of the '50's has a word to say against him now. Those who speak ill of him now are men who came in to enjoy what Sam Wood did much to create—free, prosperous Kansas."—*Leavenworth Times.*

"No man who stood with Sam Wood in the '80's and '90's has a word to say against him now.

"If Sam Wood had remained true to the Republican party after it became the party of monopoly, the Republican editors who are now trying to blacken his character would be telling good things of the old man. If Sam Wood had supported the tariff robbers and had been assassinated by a Democrat, the Republican papers would be making a saint of him to-day.

"Whether Farmers' Alliance, Democrat, or Republican, Sam Wood had a right to live, and the man who killed him is a murderer, and that is all there is of it."

From the Ottawa (Kan.) Journal.

"Sam Wood, the most noted man in the State, is dead. He was murdered in the Hugoton court-house by a deputy sheriff. For years Hugoton 'boomers' have thirsted for the blood of Wood, and they have finally succeeded.

"It is pretended that Deputy Brennan shot Wood through personal pique. This is nonsense. Wood has been murdered in deference to the wishes of the Hugoton crowd. He was in their way and had to be disposed of.

"The murder of Wood is simply one more crime added to the list of crimes committed by the Hugoton faction, for all which the Republican régime in Kansas are morally responsible. The Hugoton criminals have been made the wards of the Republican party. The Hugoton 'boomers' went originally from McPherson County. * * * * *

* * * "If we are not very much mistaken, Senator

Kelly, not long ago, was instrumental in securing the signatures of scores of leading Kansas Republicans to a petition to the United States authorities for the liberation of the Hugoton murderers of Sheriff Cross and posse. We remember to have seen Speaker Smith go down from his chair, in the session of '87, and indulge in a coarse tirade against Wood, in order to secure the passage of a bill which meant the liberation of Hugoton criminals.

"The judicial district in which this crime was committed was created by a Republican legislature. It was created for no other purpose than that the Hugoton crowd might commit crime with impunity. This fact was clearly understood at the time. The selection of the notorious Judge Botkin to preside over this district was strictly in keeping with the rest of the work. The power to arrest in that locality seems to have been used for kidnapping purposes. Some years ago Wood was kidnapped, carried down into No Man's Land, and subsequently rescued by his friends. If our memory serves us right, his kidnappers first got possession of him by arresting him under a warrant. To guard him from being smuggled away through this process and assassinated, both the Supreme Court and the Shawnee County District Court issued writs last winter for his protection, and it should not now be forgotten that when Wood went to Hugoton, he was compelled to do so. He was under bonds to do so. Scarcely had he put in an appearance before he was brutally shot down by one of Judge Botkin's admirers.

"It is said that the murderer has been arrested. What if he has? What Hugoton criminal or murderer has ever had a hair of his head harmed by the courts? It would appear that the Hugoton court-house is more of a mart for crime than it is for the administration of justice."

From the Arkansas City (Kan.) *Dispatch*.

"The case of Col. S. N. Wood is the only one on record wherein a man failed to hang to the highest military title conferred upon him. In 1864 Wood was commissioned general of the Fifth Brigade, Kansas State Militia. He was then Brigadier-General Wood, but had previously become a lieutenant-colonel, and preferred to be called that."

From the Ouray (Colo.) *Plaindealer*, July, 1891.

"Judge Botkin, of the District Court of Stevens County, known to be a sympathizer with the murderous gang who killed Sheriff Cross, and who has prostituted his judicial office by the most shameless and indecent conduct on the bench, was last winter tried by the Senate at Topeka, on charges of impeach-

ment. Seventeen voted for conviction, fifteen for acquittal. As the constitution of Kansas requires a two-thirds vote to remove a judge from the bench, the charges were dismissed. Had they been sustained, Col. Wood would be alive to-day. In order to harass him, he had been repeatedly arrested on frivolous and trumped-up charges and brought before Judge Botkin. He had been compelled to give bonds to answer to one of these on Tuesday of this week. When he appeared at the court-house for that purpose, James Brennan drew a revolver and without a word shot him three times. Col. Wood fell and expired in a few moments.

"The shock of his death falls with terrible force upon his wife, so cruelly widowed; his daughter, Mrs. James W. Abbott, of this place; his sons, David Wood, of Dallas, and William Wood, of Strong City, Kan.; and the law-abiding citizens of Stevens County. He was a man of rare generosity, and although he made a great deal of money by the practice of his profession, he often gave it all away to those in need. At one time he owned one of the most elegant homes and valuable farms in Chase County, Kansas, but at the time of his death everything he had in the world was invested in Stevens County."

From *The Kansas Commoner*.

"Who can say it was not the vituperation, the abuse, the hatred, the envy and the malice of the hired Hessians of the money power, who run the so-called Republican papers and run the monopoly machine in the State of Kansas, that led to the murder of S. N. Wood?

"No man, living or dead, in the State of Kansas, ever hated tyranny more than Sam Wood. No man, living or dead, would do more for the poor and oppressed, the friendless and the needy, than the deceased. He was strictly a teetotaler, did not use tobacco in any form, and had no use for profanity. He was as tender-hearted and sympathetic as a child, but as fearless as a lion. No power of man could scare or intimidate him, and it may be said that his ceaseless antagonism to the monopolistic element was the cause of his murder. * * * * *

"There will be others to take his place in the great ranks that are marching surely on to the emancipation of the industrial masses. The monopolistic element has been no less a persecutor and hater of Sam Wood than the fire-eating pro-slavery men of the '50's were.

"That the murder of Lincoln and Garfield grew out of the intense hatred of the plutocratic power of England and America for justice and equity between man and man, few will deny. But the world is marching on, and soon justice

must and will be done. Men will not be measured by the money they possess, the offices they have held, or the success they have attained in their battle for might against right, for oppression against equity, for murder and cunning against true manhood, whose motto is: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them.'"

From the Otoe County (Neb.) *Alliance*.

"Sam Wood is dead, and Kansas mourns the murder of a true and loyal man, cut down in the full vigor of his power by the treacherous assassin's coward blow to serve Republicanism. Sam Wood is dead, but his work will live for ages. The bright and the darkest pages of Kansas history will bear testimony of his unexampled worth. Through all the varied stages of that noted State, Sam Wood the soldier, Sam Wood the journalist, Sam Wood the attorney, the statesman, and the citizen, was ever found fighting the battles of the people, the constitution, and the State, justice and equal rights. Sam Wood's voice will be heard no more, but in his death the poor man feels his loss, and thousands that were yet indifferent to that serpent whose cunning coils are stealthily tightening around them under the false guise of party blindness, in his murder realize their own peril, and over the bloody corpse of the martyred hero and from every poor man's home and every true man's heart a solemn protest has gone up that will shake and shiver the rotten timbers of corrupt public affairs till its treacherous structures crumble under the feet of justice."

From the Kansas City *Journal*.

"The death of Sam Wood removes one of the most picturesque and interesting of the many striking figures who have played such conspicuous parts in making history for Kansas. He was, indeed, a striking type of a class of men peculiar to that State; men with convictions strong to the point of fanaticism, who came to the State originally imbued with the ardent zeal of Crusaders, determined that under no circumstances should the shackles of slavery be fastened upon the most promising of the western Territories. The conditions under which they lived for a number of years, years of bitter struggle against unscrupulous, treacherous enemies from within and without, tended to further develop their peculiar characteristics, until they came to be recognized as a community different from any other in the Union. In recent years the steady influx of new blood has materially altered the character of the people of that State; but her civilization still bears unmistakably the impression of those hardy, freedom-loving pioneers."

From the Topeka *Alliance Tribune*.

"Sam Wood is dead. A strong, bright, earnest, honest man is stricken down. The people have lost a powerful friend, truth a defender, and justice a devotee. The life of Sam Wood reads like a romance. He belonged to the heroic age of Kansas. In early life he stood by the side of Wendell Phillips, John Brown, and William Lloyd Garrison, battling bravely with tongue and pen and sword for freedom. At the close of the war, when the conspiracy of English capital as foretold by Lincoln had received into its Satanic arms the leaders of the Republican party, Sam Wood stood almost alone, faithful among the faithless.

"Never deceived by sophistry, cajoled by flattery, nor awed by threats, amidst the overwhelming corruptions that have flourished since the war he stood unshaken, undismayed, the outspoken friend of liberty, of justice, and of right, and the uncompromising foe of fraud, hypocrisy, and crime. His end has crowned his life. He takes his place with the martyrs sacrificed to liberty in all the ages. Like Elijah P. Lovejoy, he was deliberately butchered at the behest of monopolistic politics. Like Lincoln, he was foully assassinated because he stood in the way of those who had conspired to subject the American people to European bondage. He died in defense of the people.

"No impoverished man or woman has ever appealed to the great white throne for vengeance upon Sam Wood. His foes were of another class. The railroad plunderers, the stock and bond jobbers, the public thieves and their abettors are the fellows who writhed under the sharp scathing of his ready tongue. It was they who compassed his death.

"No one will for a moment dream that Wilkes Booth leveled his pistol at the head of Lincoln, that C. A. Henrie deposited the box of dynamite at Coffeyville, or that the wretch Brennan murdered Sam Wood, of their own uninfluenced volition. Each was urged on to commit the deed by a power behind them that they deemed sufficiently powerful to protect them afterward.

"God is not mocked. Truth and justice shall prevail. The blood of martyrs has been in all ages the seed of truth.

"The gaping wounds of Colonel Wood will speak with more thrilling eloquence than a hundred tongues, and his death, more than his life, will convince the people that the plutocrats or the people must perish. Dr. Lyman Beecher once said, 'When bad men combine, the good must associate, or they will perish one by one, the victims of the concentrated malice of their foes.'

"To the sorrowing widow thus cruelly robbed of the staff and solace of her declining years, who for the third part of a

century has stood heroically, loyally, and lovingly by the side of her husband through all the vicissitudes of his eventful life, we offer condolence and sympathy too deep for words. God alone in His infinite wisdom and tenderness can bind the broken heart. May the fountains of His grace be opened unto her and the peace that passeth understanding be her reliance."

From the Leavenworth *Times*.

"Sam Wood is dead, and the people of Kansas ought not to forget the fact that he came to this then Territory in 1854, and was from that time to his death a friend to free Kansas. No man was truer or did a greater amount of work to make Kansas free than the outspoken, manly Sam N. Wood.

"He was the first man we met when we visited Kansas August 1, 1854. He was open, frank, and generous. There was no hypocrisy about him. He was a full-blood, fighting Hicksite Quaker, ready at any moment to fight the 'border ruffians' who invaded Kansas; ready at the instant to do any work that would help to make Kansas free. He was a man of wonderful resources, of great ability as a writer and public speaker; a valuable friend and a foe to be dreaded. His instincts and sympathies were always with the oppressed. His ending by the hand of the cowardly assassin is sad indeed to his family and friends."

Dispatch from Topeka, June 27, 1891.

"Senator Peffer, who was one of Sam Wood's friends, said to-day when the killing was mentioned: 'I knew Sam Wood intimately for many years, and he possessed many excellent qualities. Like others, he had some of those peculiarities which many call faults, but he was a man of ability and had many good traits. His wife was a splendid woman. I remember one cold winter day, Sam had purchased a new overcoat. He was riding in a sled with his wife when they met a man who was very poorly dressed. His clothes were scant, and what few he had were worn through in many places. The man was numb and would have frozen had it not been for a generous act of Sam's. When he met the man he jumped from the sleigh, put his own brand-new coat on the man, and, after giving him a good shaking up to start the blood in his veins, sent him on his way. Sam never saw either the man or the coat afterward. He didn't expect it. It was Sam Wood's way of doing things. I have not yet heard the details of the killing, but think it must have been a piece of barbarous cruelty.'"

From the Kansas City *Times*.

"When the impeachment was decided upon by the lower House last winter, the Republicans accepted it as a political

issue. They endeavored to make capital of the expense laid upon the State, and ridiculed the charges as frivolous. When the trial came on, the Senate acted as if it were conducting a political campaign on the Ingalls principle, without a decalogue or a code of laws. It ruled out without sound legal reason much of the most important testimony, and acquitted the accused, though the testimony which was admitted clearly established his unfitness to sit upon the bench of any court.

"It still remains to the praise of the Topeka *Capital* and the Wichita *Eagle* that they measured Botkin correctly after the testimony, and said without reserve that he was not worthy the forbearance he received.

"The mistake of the Senate and of the party in protecting Botkin might have been forgotten, as other instances of blind partisanship acting contrary to the welfare of Kansas have been. But the bullets from Brennan's revolver have done what the investigation before the Senate did not. The murder of one of the best known men in the State put the history of the differences between Wood and Botkin into current conversation. To-day there is not a voter in the State who is ignorant of Botkin's rank unworthiness, and there is not a senator among those who acquitted him who is not regretting that he sunk decency in partisanship."

From the Republic County (Kan.) *Freeman*.

"Col. Sam N. Wood was brutally murdered at the door of the court-house at Hugoton, Kansas, on Tuesday, by James Brennan. Four bullets were fired through his body, and he died without a word, in the presence of his wife. It is about time for some Republican editor to howl that this is the result of Alliance teachings, but it happened that the man who was murdered was an Alliance man, so it is justifiable, we presume."

D. W. Hull in the Fort Dodge (Iowa) *True Democrat*.

"The recent tragic death of Col. S. N. Wood brings to our memory many old reminiscences. In the winter of 1852-3 we 'held a case' at the office of the Mount Gilead *Messenger*, and among the many abolition agitators we then met was a slender young Quaker, who made the *Messenger* a vehicle for the promulgation of his doctrines. This young man was S. N. Wood, the hero-martyr, who was murdered at the dictation of a Republican gang in Kansas a few days ago. He shortly after moved west, and we next heard of him during the 'border ruffian' war in Kansas, doing valiant service for the Free State cause; at least, we supposed the Kansas Wood and Quaker Wood of our acquaintance were identical. Again, we read of his valiant deeds as a soldier on the field of battle, after which we heard no more of him till he was championing the cause of the people with the Greenback party. In 1881 we met him

at the Greenback camp-meeting in Lansing, Mich. Instead of meeting the slender Quaker of our boyhood days, we met a strong, muscular man. We then informed him that twenty-nine years ago we knew an S. N. Wood in Morrow County, Ohio, and we were disappointed in finding that our early acquaintance was not identical with the Wood before us. 'When did you say you met this Wood?' he asked. 'In the Democratic printing office in Mount Gilead, Ohio,' we answered. He then informed us that he was the same man.

"Mr. Wood has been maligned and abused from boyhood till the assassin's bullet ended his noble work on earth. Yet a truer and more righteous man never lived. He was an abolitionist, and helped to organize the Republican party, working with it till it became so corrupt he could endure it no longer. In 1872 he supported Greeley, who represented all that was pure and true in the Republican party, but the defeat of the sage of Chautauqua was the death of that party, and in its place appeared its enemy masked with its name. He then took his place with the new Greenback party, which, Phoenix-like, seemed to rise from the old party. This party was traduced and lied about by the old parties, till it seemed almost dead; yet has lived to usher into existence the new People's party, and among the guests to welcome it at Cincinnati was delegate Col. S. N. Wood.

"We had a thousand times rather meet in the next world a record like his than that of any of his Pharisaical persecutors. While clergymen in their pulpits were preaching righteousness, he was sowing righteous deeds. He was on all occasions just what he appeared to be; there was not a shade of cant or hypocrisy in his life; hence he was hated by all whose public and private lives were in conflict."

From the Wellington (Kan.) *Voice*.

"If Brennan had no intention of killing Wood, Wood had certainly no motive or desire to injure Brennan, and the story that Wood began a pistol attack upon a man toward whom he had no enmity, and from whom he had no cause to fear harm, becomes too preposterous for consideration. Such a telegram gives Brennan's case away more completely than before, and stamps his act as political murder that will cost the Judge Botkin party whatever chance it had of regaining control of public affairs in Kansas. In all the annals of Southern Kukluxism there is no more deliberate, cowardly and cold-blooded murder than the Brennan-Wood assassination in Kansas in the interest of a judge whose name has become infamous and is yet kept in his high position through sheer partisanship."

Representative W. M. Campbell in *The Alliance Tribune*.

"The murder of Col. S. N. Wood calls to mind many things said to me last winter by a gentleman who at that time resided in Judge Botkin's district. He said the acquittal of Judge Botkin would result in a reign of terror in Stevens County. He said that Botkin had gathered around him a class of desperate men, who would murder any one who had the courage to oppose them. He said that if they had succeeded in getting Col. Wood away from Topeka last winter, it would have been the last of him. This gentleman begged me, on behalf of the people of Botkin's district, to use my utmost endeavor to have him impeached; 'For,' said he, 'if he is allowed to return to the bench, some of us who have dared to oppose him will pay for it with our lives.' He said he would not dare to return home if Botkin were acquitted. He told me of so many outrages committed in that district that seemed to have the sanction of the judge that I am not at all surprised at the murder of Col. Wood. The gentleman making this statement is an educated man of high standing, and a life-long Republican. I have no doubt that Col. Wood was killed simply to have him out of the way."

From the *Topeka State Journal*.

"The acquittal of Judge Botkin is a burning disgrace to the Republican Senate which tried him. The man is totally unfit for a judge, and the senators who acquitted him know it. The masses of the Republican party in Kansas are disgusted with the manner in which this unworthy judge has been excused and with the effrontery of certain Republican leaders in continually whitewashing this travesty on justice, who is legally, but not lawfully, permitted to sit on a judicial bench in Kansas. This judge, though almost an eye-witness of the murder of Sam Wood, and but a few yards away from the infamous scene, yet appears to condone the outrage. The Republicans had the chance to oust the unworthy judge and they abused their opportunity, to their shame and the State's disgrace."

The People's Party National Convention of 1892, at Omaha, held a memorial service in honor of its fallen leaders. The following is from Professor C. Vincent's address on that occasion :

"Of those whose entire lives were given to the enlarging of life's possibilities are Drs. B. S. Heath, Illinois; S. M. Brice, Kansas; and Rev. Gilbert De Lamatyr, who has been claimed by many States, and loved by all for his devotion to the purest principles in society and in government. Kansas has lost others, too, from her host of patriots; among them the silver-

tongued W. H. Utley, whom the members of the last supreme council remember so well; but if one be cherished in memory more than another, that one is S. N. Wood, who lies in his last resting-place at Cottonwood Falls; whose intensely active public career extended over nearly half a century, only to be closed by the bullet of the cowardly assassin who shot him while unarmed and in his wife's presence. His blood will continue to cry out for vengeance from the parched soil of Kansas until the State government that protects the murderer is replaced by one that has respect for the lives and property of others than its own courtiers."

George Martin, in the Kansas City *Gazette*, in reviewing "The History of the Kansas Conflict," says of a class of anti-slavery men in New England:

"In fact, some of their criticisms savor strongly of the spirit of condescension which the East still feels towards the West. Wendell Phillips says, for instance:

"'The moment you throw the struggle with slavery into the half-barbarous West, where things are decided by the revolver and bowie-knife, slavery triumphs. What do I care for a struggle around the ballot-box in Kansas?'

"And yet, if it had not been for Governor Robinson, Kersey Coates, Sam Wood, and a few more such vulgar barbarians, who were determined to stand for their rights and demand freedom in a free country, slavery would have triumphed in spite of the sighs and perorations of the cultivated Bostonians. * * * * *

"The friends of the lamented Sam Wood will read Governor Robinson's book with much pleasure, for the story brings forward again and again the true, earnest personality of this independent defender of Kansas liberty, and it is delightful to find such testimony coming as history from the pen of a man like Governor Robinson."

From the Emporia *Standard*.

"Colonel Sam Wood was a native of Ohio. An earnest opposer of the Kansas and Nebraska law, he moved to Kansas in 1854 to assert his principles in that fight. He located near Lawrence, where he resided during the exciting times of 1855 and 1857. His bravery soon made him prominent in the anti-slavery party, and he at once took a prominent part in the early struggles; the history of his life being closely interwoven with that of Kansas as a Territory. He was not only an effective stump speaker, but a fighter, and incurred the hatred of the 'border ruffians.' * * * * *

"Wood was an extremist in everything he did. His outspoken manner on any and all subjects of consequence often

made him many bitter enemies, who connived at his political death. But he was irrepressible, and would bob up at the next State convention with as much energy as at the previous one, when he had been so unmercifully sat down upon.

* * * * *

"Colonel Wood was probably sent to the legislature as representative or senator as often, if not more often, than any other man in Kansas. If not a member of the legislature, his presence could most surely be relied upon during the entire session.

"Colonel Wood's career during the past three years has added to his reputation as a shrewd politician. First he became conspicuous because of the Stevens County troubles. Then his well-known ability gave him a prominent place among the counselors of the People's party. He was made clerk of the House Judiciary Committee, and outlined the course which the People's party took in much of its financial legislation. * * * * He was thoroughly well posted on the Bible, having read it through more than twenty-five times. He had a happy faculty of quoting copiously, fitting paragraphs in political arguments. * * * * *

"Wood's reputation was based on the fact that he was a remarkably quick thinker. He was quick at repartee, and it was impossible to corner him. He was one of the most amusing and entertaining stump speakers in this State, and could draw an audience at any time. Physically, he was one of the most powerful men of the State. When freighting across the plains with an ox team, a sheriff undertook to arrest him for some trivial offense in the city of Topeka. The sheriff was knocked down, and he called upon three by-standers to assist him. Wood drew his coat and whipped all three men, and went on his way unmolested."

Report of a speech in the political campaign of 1890.

"The speech of Hon. Sam. Wood in front of the Shepard House, last Wednesday night, was a masterly exposure of Republican misrule and its corrupt legislation. He dealt largely in facts and figures, made no appeals to prejudice or passion, but pursued an unbroken line of argument that to those who gave him close attention must have been convincing. He handled Blaine's letter of acceptance better than we have yet heard any other speaker, or seen in print, and when through with it, left nothing for an honest Republican to admire. Our people will have the pleasure of again hearing Mr. Wood talk in about three or four weeks.

"Sam Wood is the last man to interrupt or bandy words with when speaking. He is quick at repartee, and always 'gets

away with the baggage' of the fellow who has the temerity to tackle him."

Col. Wood was a ready and forceful speaker. He never wrote and committed his speeches to memory, but as the old Quakers or Friends claimed to speak as moved by the Spirit, so he seemed always to be favored with a ready inspiration upon every occasion. There was no halting or hesitation in his speech or manner, no lack of words to express his meaning. He was too thoroughly in earnest to attempt fine flights of oratory, but made clear statements of facts and logical and convincing arguments in plain and earnest language. All through his speeches there was a ready flow of inimitable humor and sparkling wit that attracted and pleased his hearers and won their good will. When he was interrupted in an argument by an opponent no one could guess what the reply would be, but it always came as quick as lightning and as effective. He had received only a common-school education, but his industry and perseverance, wide range of reading and investigation, and his clear, discriminating mind and wonderfully tenacious memory supplied him with greater and more varied resources than many men possess whose attainments are attested by a college diploma.

He never seemed to feel his lack of a classical education. Once, when reading from a text-book in the argument of a case, he came to a long sentence in Latin, and knowing that some lawyers were watching to see how he would read it, he hesitated a moment, and then, with a triumphant gleam in his eye, said, "I will omit the Latin, as the judge may not understand it," and passed on.

He rarely retired before midnight, but would sit up alone, writing, reading, preparing cases for court, or working upon whatever he had in hand at the time, as anxious to complete it as if it were his last opportunity.

With characteristic energy and perseverance, he traced both his father's and mother's ancestral lines back to 1620, securing complete and unbroken records of the two families from that distant period to the present time. Among his ancestors he found the name and history of Mary Dyer, who suffered martyrdom in Boston at the hands of Puritan

religious bigots for the heresy of being a Quaker, a member of the Society of Friends.

A citizen of Stevens County relates the following: "I was in a company of the leading men of Hugoton the first time Col. Wood's name was ever mentioned in that town, and one of the Cooks asked, 'Who is Sam Wood?' and J. L. Pancoast answered, 'He is a man the whole State of Kansas is afraid of;'" and the relator of this incident added, "And then the fight commenced."

How much prejudice, hatred, and bitter hostility was then and there engendered and initiated by Mr. Pancoast's unwarranted and extravagant statement may never be estimated. It is certain that those Hugoton speculators and all whom they could bring under their influence—even men who had never seen or known Col. Wood—soon began to hate and malign him, as if he were an outlaw who was continually plotting evil against society.

The county attorney was with and of them, and Judge Botkin soon drifted to them by the law of natural affiliation, and he controlled a large number of men by virtue of his position as judge. The favorable consideration shown the Cross murderers by the State officers and Senate of Kansas, and the unmerited abuse heaped upon Col. Wood by the Senate in the impeachment trial and by the partisan press of the State, all combined to assure the murderers of safety.

So strong was the power of evil, and so delirious did men become from the tiger-thirst for blood, that the better nature of certain men became dormant, and they passively acquiesced or became participants in a crime which now rests like a dark shadow upon their lives, and which has proved to be too terrible a secret for some of them to keep.

There is only one thought which comes to me with a plea for charity for the men who swept away my strong refuge and left me lonely among the millions of earth: *Perhaps they knew not what they did.*

The distinguished scientist Humboldt asserted, "The universe is governed by law." There is an underlying cause for every effect. There must be—there is—a reason why men who are destitute of conscience and moral principle become

murderers when they go out to the frontier—out to the wild plains which are yet strewn with arrow-heads and the scarcely effaced moccasin tracks of savages. Not three decades have passed since those plains were the hunting-ground of hostile, revengeful, blood-thirsty tribes, who were continually seeking the lives of their enemies, whether of their own or of the white race. Do they linger unseen upon the old war-paths to sate their desire for vengeance upon the hated “pale-faces” through their psychological power to foment hatred, revenge, and cruel murder among men who might otherwise be friends?

An eminent philosopher, looking down from the sublime height of his wise attainments upon the midnight ignorance of the world, said, “What mankind knows amounts to very little; what they do not know is enormous.” There may be an as yet unknown realm peopled by unseen instigators of crime which awaits scientific discovery. When the shadows of the dark ages have ceased to cloud the minds of men, they will seek, by the aid of the clear light of science, for the hidden causes of crime; and when the mists of mortality have rolled away we may feel only pity instead of resentment for those whose crimes have filled our lives with grief.

The following statements are taken from a recent letter from a citizen of Stevens County who knows nearly all of the men who are implicated in the murder:

“It will be well-nigh impossible to ever bring the murderers of Col. Wood to justice in the ordinary way. The complications which led up to that foul deed are many. Brennan is the smallest figure in it; for I tell you that less than two years ago, long after the Paris trial, Brennan did not dream that he would do that deed. I was well acquainted with him, and had talked with him about Col. Wood. It was the influence of the Botkin-Hugoton gang that embittered him against Col. Wood.

“Behind the Botkin gang you will find monopolies that feared his skillful use of the weapon law. There were others who felt that if he could be got out of the way, they could manage to escape deserved punishment for their crimes.

* * * * *

“Aside from Botkin, Cook, and the Hugoton gang, there was the horde of partisan demagogues who are pleased to call themselves the Republican party of Kansas. The murderers felt sure of their support; the People’s party had a brave and

powerful leader in Col. Wood, and their opponents knew that some of their infamy would get an airing that would hurt. To such the death of Col. Wood was a necessity; and well have they seen to it that the law should be checkmated at every attempt at a trial of the guilty."

In *The American Nonconformist* of July 2, 1892, is the following:

"An unusual amount of space is occupied this week in furnishing the details of one of the blackest crimes that blots the fair pages of Kansas history. * * * * * As the facts develop, the indescribable villainy of the affair, the far-reaching depths of the plot, going back for months, bring to light the combination of a deep-laid plan, taking into its counsels men who have ranked in the highest walks of Kansas statesmanship, the enormity of which baffles the skill of pen to describe. * * * * *

"Political assassination was attempted in 1888; it has been accomplished in 1891. It is fortunate for the cause of humanity that the victim has had a long and useful career—a history that gives the lie to every slander against his name. If he had been young and comparatively unknown, innuendoes, insinuations, falsehoods without limit, could have been told with possibility of being believed; but the chosen victim was old; his race was nearly run; he had already passed that period in life when most men cease from taking an active interest in public affairs, and if he had lived, we could not have expected him to exceed two or three years more of active service.

"Thirty-five and forty years ago men were ostracized and persecuted for opinion's sake, for trying to lift pen and tongue in behalf of four million slaves. To-day, for trying to speak in behalf of fifty million wage slaves, men have been persecuted, and contention has waged so long that at last it has culminated in political assassination. If the Kansas Senate had shown themselves to be men who regarded their oaths and had respect for the common decencies of life, Judge Botkin would have been retired from the bench, a rebuke would have been given to corruption in high places. The lawless bands of 'border ruffians' that nightly reveled in debauch would have been taught that there was a limit to the patience of an oppressed people. It remains now to be seen whether the Republican administration of Kansas will sink deeper in the purlieus of crime than it has already sunk, in its endeavor to save its political adherents from their just deserts."

An eminent historian says of the assassination of Julius Cæsar by a horde of political conspirators who envied and

feared him: "Of this conspiracy it is said that it began in spite and continued in folly. A very slight degree of political foresight might have convinced those who assented to the plot that the people would not be on their side, and that they would precipitate the very conclusion which they desired to avert." History ever repeats itself.

Immediately after the death of Colonel Wood the confederates of the murderers and their sympathizers throughout the State began to traduce and malign him, in order to create a public sentiment that would excuse and condone their wanton crime; and a few newspaper men felt perfectly safe in trying to kick and insult the dead lion. The number of these, however, bears the same relation to those who condemned the crime and mourned his loss that the number of criminals in the State bears to the number of respectable citizens.

It has often been and hereafter will frequently be asked, why Brennan was not tried and convicted for the murder of Colonel Wood. The crime was committed at Hugoton, the county-seat of Stevens County. The constitution of the State of Kansas expressly provides that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have "a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the county or district in which the offense is alleged to have been committed." The total population of Seward County by the census of 1890 was 1,502, and the total vote cast in the county at the November election in 1890 was 276. Col. Wood was killed in June, 1891. The crime was so enormous, and the feeling of the people was so thoroughly awakened at the terrible state of affairs in that county and other counties of Judge Botkin's district, that but few persons believed at any time that an impartial jury of twelve men could be impaneled for Brennan's trial. Notwithstanding this, however, the Attorney-General of the State, Hon. John N. Ives, caused an information to be filed against Brennan, charging him with murder in the first degree. Court convened early in September, but Judge Botkin was disqualified to try the case, and the trial was postponed until the following November, at which time Hon. T. B. Wall, of Sedgwick County, who had been agreed upon as judge *pro tem.* for such trial, appeared and opened court. The State was represented by Attorney-General

Ives, by Hon. Charles Curtis, and by Wm. O'Connor, county attorney. The defendant was represented by J. H. Pitzer.

An effort was made to impanel a jury, and nearly every qualified elector of the county was summoned and examined as to his qualifications, when it became apparent that there were not enough competent men, unbiased and unprejudiced, to constitute a jury; and in this dilemma General Ives entered a *nolle prosequi* to the information which had been filed against Brennan. This was done in order to save the rights of the State; for, under the Kansas statute regulating trials in criminal cases, it is provided that if the accused in any criminal cause, who shall be in custody for want of bail (as was Brennan), shall not be brought to trial "before the end of the second term of the court having jurisdiction of the offense which shall be held after the filing of the information against him, he shall be discharged so far as relates to that offense, unless the delay is occasioned on application of the prisoner." Brennan, knowing the state of public feeling in Stevens County, sought no delay; but as the crime of murder is never barred by the statute of limitations, the dismissal of the then pending information against Brennan leaves him still liable, so that at any time hereafter he may be put upon trial in Stevens County, or in any county which may embrace the territory that includes Hugoton, if an impartial jury of such county can be impaneled for that purpose.

The persons implicated in the murder of Col. Wood cannot blot out the evidence against them; and whether principal or accessories, the memory of that cruel deed will forever haunt them. An unseen presence will remind them of that deed of blood, and sometimes before their inner vision will pass a pale, blood-stained face they will shudder to see. A Nemesis will follow them, and in the hereafter, from the depths of the hell they have made for themselves, they will implore S. N. Wood to forgive and help them.

There is plenty of time for retribution—all of this life, and the eternal years in addition. His widow and children and friends can wait.

"Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;
Though with patience He stands waiting, with exactness grinds He all."

WOOD'S MANIFESTO:

AN ADDRESS

To the People of Kansas

BY S. N. WOOD

DELIVERED AT HERINGTON, KANSAS,
APRIL 29, 1891.

A COMPLETE HISTORY
OF THE LEGISLATURE
OF 1891.

**By the light of my faith I am taught
That death is but action begun;
In the strength of this hope I have struggled and fought
With the legions of wrong, till my armor has caught
The gleam of Eternity's Sun.**

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Permit me to say, in the commencement, that I am not here to abuse or vilify anyone; abuse and vilification are not argument. I leave all this to our opponents. Those who cannot answer my arguments, however, are at liberty to use their old arguments of abuse and vilification. I shall not abuse or vilify either of the old parties. I recognize what these parties were in their better days; I know of their great achievements, and I would not take from them one of their laurels if I could. Old issues are of the past. Forget, if you can, that you have been Republicans or Democrats, and with me, for a short time, study politics or the science of government from a non-partisan standpoint. Thomas Jefferson was the first Democratic President. He was a man of the people. In his inaugural address, when he took the oath of office as President, speaking of what constituted a good government, he said: "One thing more, gentlemen—a frugal government, one that shall restrain men from injuring each other, but shall leave them otherwise free to exercise their own pursuits of industry, and which shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned." Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President, in his first annual message, declared that "Labor deserves more consideration than capital." Because, as he said, "Capital is the product of labor, and without labor it would never have existed." Professor Amesa Walker, a writer of the old school, in his work entitled "The Science of Wealth," says that "If there is more labor than there is capital to employ labor, that labor will be in competition and the price of labor will come down; but if there is more capital than labor, that capital will go to waste. But if either must be the beggar it should be capital, and not labor, for the reason that capital is the savings of labor, and without labor it never would have existed."

If I vote a ticket simply because it is headed Republican or Democratic, I am voting a prejudice, or an issue of the past. I am not taking sides upon any issue of the present or the future. You know our interests are all the same. Yet here are two farmers, two merchants, two business men—one a Republican, the other a Democrat. Why is this? Their interests are identical. The people are now studying politics as they never studied it before; studying political economy from a non-partisan standpoint, which will eventually bring us to the same platform. The People's party last fall built their platform upon the principles of Jefferson and Lincoln. Labor was its foundation. "Labor," they say, "is the beginning of progress, the commencement of the world." The result of the election, for the first time in our history, placed the house of representatives under the control of men opposed to the Republican party. The house had ninety-four People's party members, twenty-four Republicans, and seven Democrats. The senate elected two years ago had thirty-seven Republicans, two People's party, and one Democrat. The People's party members of the house were men without legislative experience, but honest and sober. I never saw a better lot of men, or men who were more honest in purpose or anxious to do right and legislate to lighten the burdens of the people. In the house, among the Republican minority, were some of the best trained politicians of the state—men of legislative experience and good parliamentarians. This gave them a great advantage over our new members, men, as I have said, without legislative experience. The Republicans did most of the talking, but the People's party members did the voting. Honest

themselves, it was their misfortune to believe their opponents honest also. Should these men be re-elected and be returned as members of another legislature, which I hope each and every one will, they will be worth one hundred times as much to their constituents and the state as they were last winter. Some of the Republicans in the house I could name, such as Webb, Douglas, Hopkins, Rice, and others, worked with the People's party for the benefit of the people of the state. In the senate, out of forty members, thirty-seven were the cream of the Republican party—men of ability and large legislative experience; men profound in the law. There was the venerable Thomas A. Osborn, twice Governor of our state, Minister to Chili and Brazil; "Billy Buchan," the chairman of the Republican state committee and the wheel-horse of the Republican party; Frank Gillett, the young Goliah of the southwest; Hon. H. B. Kelley, of McPherson, the ablest of them all ("WILL ADMIT IT HIMSELF"), all candidates-at-large for Congress in 1892. In fact, the senate contained thirty-seven of the ablest men in the Republican party—men whose word in the party is law. Since our admission as a state in 1861, thirty years ago, this state has been unanimously Republican. For its legislation, whether good or bad, the Republican party must be held responsible. With it is the honor or the odium of our legislative history. In 1861 we had a ninety days' session of the legislature, and put the whole machinery of the state government in operation. The entire appropriation that year was only \$84,821. In 1871, ten years after, it reached \$329,293.42. In 1861, with the best Governor Kansas ever had, I find that the appropriation for the Executive Department was \$4,153. Of this the Governor got \$2,000; his private secretary, \$600; office rent, \$200; Secret Service, \$1,000; Adjutant-General's Department, \$600; Secretary of State Department, \$2,500; Legislative Department, \$48,578; Treasurer's Department, \$1,900; Attorney-General's Department, \$1,000; Auditor's Department, \$2,500; Superintendent of Public Instruction, \$1,700; Judiciary, \$12,300; miscellaneous, \$8,967.93. In 1889, the last two years of Republican rule, the appropriations were \$2,657,511.56. The deficiencies amounted to over \$350,000 more, making the total expenses of the state for the two fiscal years 1890 and 1891, in round numbers, over \$3,100,000; over \$3.50 per capita, compared with thirty-three cents per capita in 1861. Our population in 1861 was 160,000. Our population has increased nine times that of 1861, and our expenses for the year ending June 20, 1889, were eighteen times that of 1861. It was reasonable to expect that with an increase of population and taxable property taxation would be reduced, but the opposite has been the result. Population and taxable wealth have not increased, as will be seen, with our expenses. Our Republican law-makers seem to have run wild. The governor's department in 1865, the first year after the war, was \$5,421.45. In 1890, the last year of Republican rule, it was \$15,900.

Fifty thousand dollars was asked for last winter for the World's Fair at Chicago. One said that state pride demanded it, forgetting that Solomon has said: "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." Another said, it was to "advertise our state and induce immigration to come here." If increased wealth and population brought a corresponding decrease in our taxes, there might be some argument in this scheme. But the history of our state is, the more population and wealth we have the greater our taxes. With \$24,727,450 in taxable property in 1861; our expenses were 33 cents per capita, or, as I have said, amounting to \$84,821. In 1889 our taxable property reached \$348,000,000, and our expenses \$1,600,000. Senator Buchan, in his manifesto, in accounting for the rapid increase in our expenses, said: "Since 1876, we find the growth of the state and the demands of the people have required the establishment and maintenance of the following institutions and departments of the state government, which have been supported

out of the *moderate* increase of appropriations for institutions and departments created since 1876: Asylum for Idiotic and Imbecile Youth at Winfield, Soldier's Orphans' Home at Atchison, State Soldiers' Home at Dodge City, State Reformatory at Hutchinson, Industrial School for Girls at Beloit, Reform School for Boys at Topeka, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Forestry Commission, State Board of Health, State House Commission, Oil Inspector, Mine Inspector, Live Stock Sanitary Commission, State Veterinarian, Supreme Court Commission, Board of Pardons, Silk Commission, Adjutant-General and National Guard, Railroad Commission, Police Commissioners, State Board of Pharmacy, State Horticultural Society. The number of district judges in 1876, fifteen; number of district judges in 1890, thirty-seven."

The above looks like paternalism or nationalism run wild. It is a principle of taxation, as laid down by text writers, that it must be for a public purpose, and its benefits brought home to the whole people. Apply this test to some of the institutions and departments aboved named.

The State Reformatory at Hutchinson stands there as a monument of the folly and extravagance of the Republican party. The Industrial School for Girls at Beloit, of course, is a high school for the girls at Beloit, and not for the state. Bureau of Labor Statistics is of no manner of use to any one, except to create more offices at the expense of the people. Oil Inspector, Mine Inspector, Live Stock Sanitary Commission, State Veterinarian, Board of Pardons, Silk Commission, Adjutant-General and National Guard, Police Commissioners, State Board of Pharmacy, and State Horticultural Society, are all without any value or practical benefit to the state except to answer the clamors of place-hunters. We are told that in 1876 we had fifteen district judges, now thirty-seven. This increase of judges and courts ought to forever damn the party responsible for the same. I know district judges in this state who have not three weeks of honest work in a year. Judge Crozier has a district consisting of Leavenworth, Jefferson, and Jackson counties, and is up with his work. Make twenty other districts with the same population, and you occupy the whole state, showing that we have sixteen districts, costing the state \$40,000 a year, in which the office should be abolished. They are all useless expenditures of the people's money.

Senater Buchan says "the State Board Agriculture reports cost \$58 000 a year," and asks "if the farmers of the state would do without them." In anwer, let me say that not one farmer in one hundred ever sees one. They go to the politicians, and not to the farmers. The fact is, that the Agricultural Society, as well as their report, so far as the farmers are concerned, is an arrant humbug.

Why did not Senator Buchan account for the fact that the senate employees, with only forty senators, cost over \$20,000, while the house employees, with 125 representatives, cost less than one-half? Why was it that it cost \$4,445 to enroll the senate bills, and only \$3,015 the house bills, containing double the number of pages of senate bills?

The Normal School at Emporia is again assuming university airs, and should be confined to its legitimate work of training teachers for their work. It is not necessary that teachers should understand the "dead languages" to be able to teach in the common schools of Kansas. I learn from their report that students are now paid their traveling expenses by the state, in going to and from this institution. Next, I suppose, their *board and washing* will be paid.

The Agricultural College, at Manhattan, should be confined to its legitimate work. The agricultural farm should be an experimental station, with monthly reports of results sent to the whole people.

The University is now spending \$85,000 a year, about \$170 for each student. Seventy-five thousand dollars a year is appropriated in a lump, to use as the regents please, and the result is a law department, where law-

yers are being made at the public expense. Next, we shall have a medical department; in fact, the Chancellor advised this in his last report. Why not a theological department? The taxpayers of this state, 99 out of 100 of whose children must content themselves with a common-school education, will sooner or later tire of being taxed to teach the children of the rich the "dead languages," or any other language except the English, or to educate lawyers, doctors, and ministers. If the state would appropriate \$1,000 a year to assist in a county high school in each county, on condition that one is supported nine months in the year, would it not be better for the state than our State University, as it would then bring this higher education home to every family?

Our opponents seem desirous of instituting comparisons between the actions of the house and senate last winter. That the house did not accomplish what some expected of them, and what would have been accomplished with a senate and executive acting in harmony with them, I admit. Appropriations had to be made, under existing laws; it was not in the power of one house to repeal these laws without the consent of the other. Salaries of all the public officers of the state were fixed by statute, and could not be changed except by legislative action of the two houses. It has been said that the reductions in appropriations were "principally of those who labor." These were the only ones where reductions could be made without a change of the laws; and even with these reductions, I have not heard but the supply of men and women for these positions is fully equal to the demand.

Let us compare the appropriations of last winter with the appropriations for the year ending June 30th, 1889, which were \$1,697,140.95; ending June 30th, 1890, \$1,406,012.99, making a total in two years of \$3,103,153.94. Senator Buchan states that the appropriation for 1890 was \$1,406,014.99; ending June 30th, 1891, \$1,251,494.57; total in these two years of \$2,657,511.56. To this must be added a deficiency of over \$350,000, expenses incurred where no appropriations were made by the legislature two years ago, making the expenses for the last two years of Republican rule \$3,007,511.56. The appropriation made by the legislature last winter, for the year ending June 30th, 1892, was \$1,264,132.31; for the year ending June 30th, 1893, \$1,125,497.52, a total of \$2,389,631.83, a reduction of \$617,879.73. These statements are from the official records, and are true. I find by examination of the Auditor's report that from June 30th, 1888, to July 1st, 1890, there was paid out for public printing \$227,542.85. This was for two years. For the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1889, in one year there was paid out \$154,872.89; for the year ending June 30th, 1890, \$72,669.96; for the year ending June 30th, 1891, \$131,000; a total for the last two years of \$203,669.96. The appropriation for the next two years, by the late legislature, was \$153,000; a saving in two years of \$50,669.96. With the restrictions thrown around the work, the state printing is not likely to exceed the appropriations; and yet, as Senator Buchan puts it, "the state is increasing in population and wealth." The People's party house, however, succeeded in saving many thousands to the taxpayers of the state.

The People's party last fall, in their platform, said:

"First. We demand the abolition of national banks, and the substitution of legal tender treasury notes, in lieu of national bank notes, issued in sufficient volume to do the business of the country on a cash system, regulating the amount needed on a per capita basis, as the business of the country expands; and that all money issued by the Government shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, both public and private."

"Second. We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver."

"Third. We demand that Congress shall pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the dealing in futures, in all agricultural and mechanical productions."

"Fourth. We demand the passage of laws prohibiting alien ownership of land."

"Fifth. We demand that taxation, national or state, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another. We demand that all revenues, national, state and county, shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered."

"Sixth. We demand that the means of communication and transportation shall be owned by and operated in the interests of the people, as in the United States postal system.

"Seventh. We demand such legislation as shall effectually prevent the extortion of usurious interest by any form or evasion or statutory provisions.

"Eighth. We demand such legislation as will provide for a reasonable stay of execution, in all cases, of foreclosures of mortgages on real estate, and a reasonable extension of time before the confirmation of sheriff's sales.

"Ninth. We demand such legislation as will effectually prevent the organization of trusts and combines for the purpose of speculation in any of the products of labor or the necessities of life, or the transportation of the same.

"Tenth. We demand the adjustment of salaries of public officials to correspond with existing financial conditions, the wages paid to other forms of labor, and the prevailing prices of the products of labor.

"Eleventh. We demand the adoption of the Australian system of voting.

"Twelfth. Labor is the beginning of progress, the formation of the world, and the laborer is entitled to a good living, and a fair share of the profits which result from his labor. The use of labor-saving machinery should shorten the hours of toil, and enure to the benefit of the employed equally with the employer."

Upon this platform the People's party secured control of the house. We will see, in a moment, how well they carried into legislation their pledges.

The Republicans, not to be outdone, also adopted a platform. It was made up largely of a *history of the past*, instead of issues of the present or future. I was glad to learn from it that the rebellion had been put down, slavery abolished, and a homestead law passed. This, I have no doubt, was news to many of the Republicans of the state, and they relied upon this dead issue.

The Republican platform said:

"We favor such other legislation as may be necessary to insure an increase of the volume of currency, adequate to the growing demand of our trade, the volume of such currency to be regulated by the necessities of business. We are in favor of uniformity in text books in all the schools of the state, and demand such legislation as shall procure, by contract or otherwise, the best standard books at the least possible cost. We are in favor of electing railroad commissioners by a vote of the people, and we demand of the next legislature that they confer upon the board of railroad commissioners ample power to regulate freight and passenger rates. We are opposed to the system of free passes on railroads now in vogue in this state, by reason of which every railroad company is expected, as a matter of courtesy, to compliment all state officers, members of the legislature, judges and other public officers with free transportation over their respective lines, and we favor the suppression of this practice by proper legislation. We are in favor of legislation prohibiting the employment of children under the age of fourteen years in mines, factories, work-shops, or mercantile establishments.

"The next legislature should so amend the laws relating to foreclosure and sale of real estate, under mortgage contract, as shall secure to the mortgagor the privilege of redeeming such real estate at any time within twelve months from date of such foreclosure sale, by the payment of the judgment and of legal interest from date of sale to date of redemption."

Let us see how well the Republican senate fulfilled these pledges made to the people. I undertake to say that not one law was passed by the senate which was pledged to the people in this platform. There was as much in this platform calculated to injure the credit of the state as in that of the People's. The fact is, there was nothing in either that should have injured our credit. The injury to the credit of the state was not in the platforms, but in the *misrepresentations of the Republican press of this state*, who sent out false reports as to what the Alliance was going to do. The senate, in the start, undertook to exceed the house in reform legislation in the interests of the people. They went back on their intentions, however; as I said, not one pledge of their platform was redeemed. I am aware that the Republican press has charged that the senate passed a stay of execution law for two years, and that the house had defeated it. Now, what are the facts? The house early in its session passed a new mortgage law, introduced by the judiciary committee, providing a cheap mode of foreclosure, to cost not to exceed \$10, with an "equity of redemption" of two years, during which time the mortgagor was to retain possession. This law was made as fair as possible to the money loaners, in order to induce the holders of the millions of mortgages upon the farms of Kansas to extend the time, take new mortgages and

thus enable our people, with an increased volume of currency, to pay their debts and avoid universal bankruptcy. This bill was passed almost unanimously in the house, went to the senate, was amended, discussed and defeated, afterward reconsidered, and all after the enacting clause stricken out and the following inserted:

"No execution shall issue on any judgment for foreclosure until the expiration of two years from the time of rendition of judgment, in all cases wherein the costs of such action shall be paid within six months, and the interest on the judgment shall be paid semi-annually, and also the taxes; nothing in this act shall apply to proceedings in foreclosure of mortgages where the property has been abandoned nor to mortgages *heretofore executed.*"

What a relief it would have been, thus amended, to our mortgage-ridden people! It passed and was sent to the house. It was an insult to the intelligent farmers of the state. It was by the house referred to the judiciary committee, who in fifteen minutes reported it back with the following amendments (see Journal, March 11th, page 41):

"MR. SPEAKER: The judiciary committee, to whom house bill No. 540, as amended by the senate, was this day referred, would respectfully report that your committee has considered the amendment transmitted to this house from the senate, and recommend that the same be amended as follows:

"*First.* Strike out in lines five and six, in section one, the words, 'In all cases wherein the costs of such action shall be paid within six months from the rendition of such judgment.'

"*Second.* Strike out in line eleven of said section first the words, 'any part of costs remaining unpaid or.'

"*Third.* Strike out in last line of said section one the words, 'Nor to mortgages heretofore executed.'

"And your committee further recommend that said senate amendments be further amended by adding thereto the following, to stand as section two:

"SECTION 2. Any provisions in any mortgage, or other evidence of indebtedness, containing the words 'appraisement waived,' or other equivalent terms, shall be null and void; and all laws and parts of laws in conflict therewith are hereby repealed: *Provided,* That where real property hereafter sold in any foreclosure proceeding shall be purchased by the plaintiff in the action, the sheriff shall be entitled to his fees, but he shall not be entitled to any commission on the amount bid at sale: *And provided further,* That whenever the plaintiff in any foreclosure sale of real estate shall bid the full amount of the debt, interest and costs, the provisions of the law requiring the land to be sold to bring two-thirds of its appraised value shall be deemed to be fully complied with.

"And as so amended your committee recommend that said amendment be concurred in. J. S. DOOLITTLE, Chairman."

The report was adopted and the law was unanimously passed; it was returned to the senate and died in the arms of that august body. Comment is unnecessary. With this bill died the last pledge made by the Republican party in that platform to the people.

What is the record of that senate on the free coinage of silver, the increase in the volume of money, stay of execution, election of railroad commissioners by the people, prohibiting free passes, providing free school books for the state? I repeat, every pledge made in that platform to the people was a dead letter to the state senate, showing that "platforms are made to go in on, and not to stand on," or enter into the legislation of the state. The late Republican platform was made to deceive the people and catch votes.

Here is a little book. Its title is "The Report of the Senate Revision Committee." Its compilation by a senate committee cost the state \$5,400, besides the printing. It contains 228 pages. It seems to have been "the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen." One-half its expense was clerk hire, without a clerk. The whole work could have been better done for \$500.

Just after the election last fall it was heralded all over the state that the bills that this committee had prepared and the reforms recommended by them were to "throw the Alliance in the shade." It was to exceed anything DREAMED of by the People's party. Will some one tell me which, if any, of these bills became laws? Excuse me; I recollect the senate did pass a bill reducing fees and salaries of county officers. The house amended and passed it, and sent it back to the senate. The lobby

of county officers reached the senate at the same time the bill did, and the senate killed their own child by refusing to act on it; refusing to concur or non-concur in the house amendments, so it could go to a conference committee, the differences adjusted, and passed.

I have read the editorial in the Eldorado *Republican* as to the disposition of the bills reported by this "revision committee," and find that bill No. 1, an act in relation to state officers, etc., passed the senate, was sent to the house, and March 6th the senate recalled it, and, of course, strangled the little infant.

Bill No. 2 was an act to establish the salaries of the officers of both houses.

Bill No. 3, providing for a State Board of Public Works, passed both houses.

Bill No. 14, providing for a Fish Commissioner, passed the senate. It was killed in the house, and this expense was saved to the state.

Bill No. 16, state agent at Washington on a large salary, passed the senate, was killed in the house, and this expense saved to the state.

Bill No. 20 was the county officers' bill, already alluded to, and died in the senate.

Bills Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25 never reached the house, and died in the senate in the arms of their godfather, the "senate revision committee;" and thus ended the senate revision farce.

The following senate bills passed the house:

Relating to descents and distributions, amendatory to section 2609 of the General Statutes of 1889, and repealing section 2609.

Requiring moneys coming into the hands of county treasurers in certain counties to be deposited in banks.

Act amending section 4156, Statutes of 1889, relating to Code of Civil Procedure.

For the continuance and maintenance of forestry stations.

Act constituting eight hours a day's work for all workingmen employed by the state, county, city or township.

To amend sections 6771 to 6775 of the General Statutes of 1889, relating to stock.

Act relating to the taxation of corporations.

To provide revenue for the state.

Providing for a Board of Public Works, defining its duties, and providing penalties for the violation of this act, and repealing certain acts.

Act to regulate warehouses, the inspection, weighing, grading and handling of grain.

An act in regard to aliens, and to restrict their rights to acquire and hold real estate, and to provide for the disposition of lands now owned by non-resident aliens.

Relating to the sale of real estate for delinquent taxes in such counties as shall adopt the provisions of this act.

Senate joint resolution, recommending the calling of a convention to revise, amend or change the constitution of the state of Kansas.

Act prohibiting the editing, publishing, circulating, disseminating and selling of certain classes of newspapers and other publications.

Act prohibiting combinations to prevent competition among persons engaged in buying and selling live stock, and to provide penalties therefor.

Not one of these laws was demanded in their platform, excepting the alien ownership of land, which was as much a house as a senate bill; it was introduced in both houses at the same time. I challenge any senator to tell me of any bill passed by the senate in the interest of the people which was not promptly acted upon by the house. The fact is that senate bills were considered by the house in place of house bills on

the same subject. The bill providing for a Kansas exhibit at the Columbian Exposition in 1893 was senate bill 286. It passed the senate. The house amended it, so that the house, fresh from the people, would elect three commissioners and the senate two. This bill the senate defeated rather than allow the three parties of this state to be represented on the board. At the last moment the house passed a resolution urging the senate to agree to these amendments, and save the bill and the honor of the state. This the senate refused to do, and they must take the responsibility. The bill was a good one, provided the Republicans could control the expenditure of the money, but if they could not control it, they had no use for the appropriation. It must be used for the benefit of the Republican party or not used at all.

The following house bills were concurred in by the senate, and are now a part of the laws of the state:

Act amending chapter 29 of the General Statutes of 1889, respecting probate courts.

Regulating the manner of assessment of benefits and damages in taking private property for public use, and change of grades of any streets or alleys in any cities having over thirty thousand.

Supplemental and amendatory of chapter 34 of the Laws of 1876, to provide for the assessment of taxes.

To amend section 1, chapter 168, of the Laws of 1889, to provide for and regulate the enforcement of liens for labor and materials.

To amend section 457, chapter 80, Statutes of 1886, relating to civil procedure.

Apportioning the State of Kansas into senatorial and representative districts.

Act to abolish survivorship in joint tenancy.

An act to amend an act respecting probate courts, being chapter 29 of the General Statutes of 1889.

An act providing for and regulating the diversion and appropriation, storage and distribution of water for industrial purposes within prescribed limits, and of the construction and maintenance and operation of works therefor; providing for the creation of irrigation districts, having certain powers; fixing penalties for and assigning jurisdiction of offenses hereunder; defining the powers and duties of certain public officers and for other purposes.

Providing for the organization and regulation of banks.

The following, in addition to the above, are some of the important bills passed by the house, which the senate refused to pass or even consider:

Act prescribing penalties for accepting bribes.

Act to abolish the corrupt use of money and corrupt acts at elections.

Relating to continuances in district courts.

Prohibiting railroad companies from employing or using private armed detective forces during railroad strikes or other disturbances arising between such companies and their employes, and providing penalties for the violation thereof.

Relating to the redemption of lands sold for taxes, and amendatory to Tax Law of 1876, chapter 43, of Session Laws 1879.

Act with reference to the verdict of juries, and to amend section 286 of the Civil Procedure, being paragraph 4381 of the General Statutes of Kansas, 1889, doing away with special findings.

To repeal chapter 114, Laws of 1887, providing that counties and incorporated cities of the third class may subscribe stock in companies organized for the purpose of developing their natural resources.

To repeal chapter 242, Session Laws 1889, relating to aid in building sugar mills.

To protect counties, cities and townships against the illegal or fraudulent acts of their officers.

Act amendatory to the Civil Procedure in relation to the sale of real estate. This gave some relief to the people.

Making railroad companies and others operating railroads liable for the obstruction of streets and alleys in incorporated cities and towns and unincorporated villages.

To amend section 7, chapter 150, Laws of 1889, and to regulate the practice of pharmacy, sale of poisons, and punishment for the adulteration of drugs, and creating a board of pharmacy in the state of Kansas.

To prohibit subscription of stock or voting bonds for the construction of railroads.

Relating to railroads and certain liens thereon, and to determine the priority of such liens.

To provide for the weekly payment of wages in lawful money of the United States.

To amend sections 16 and 25, and chapter 131, Laws of 1885, entitled "An act to provide for the organization and control of mutual life insurance companies," approved March 7, 1885, and to repeal said sections.

To provide for printing and distributing ballots at the public expense and legal voting at state and city elections.

Act to secure uniformity in listing and taxation of bonds, notes and mortgages and other securities of indebtedness.

To amend section 8, chapter 93, Session Laws of 1871, being an act entitled "An act to establish an insurance department in the state of Kansas, and to regulate the companies doing business therein."

To regulate the rate of interest to be charged for the use of money, prohibiting usury, and providing penalties for the violation thereof, and repealing chapter 164 of the Laws of 1889, and approved March 1, 1889.

To provide for an inspector of hogs and cattle offered for sale at the stock yards located within the county of Wyandotte, defining his duties and tenure of office, and removing all restrictions in trade of hogs and cattle therein.

Limiting the power of counties, townships and cities to borrow money and create indebtedness.

Prohibiting private banks from doing business in any other than the individual name of the proprietors, and providing penalties for the violation thereof.

Relating to the liability of railroads from danger by fire, and amendatory to section 165, chapter 23, General Statutes of 1889.

Regulating crimes and punishments, and amendatory of section 107, chapter 31, General Statutes of 1886.

Relating to the jurisdiction of justices of the peace, and amendatory to section 1 of chapter 83, General Statutes of 1889, being paragraph 5433 therein.

Prohibiting waiver of appraisement and stay laws, and laws of procedure in suits for the collection of debts, and to repeal chapter 66 of the Session Laws of 1882.

Relating to the levy of annual school taxes in cities of the first class, and to the issuance of bonds by boards of education of such cities for certain purposes.

Prohibiting counties, townships and cities from voting aid except for building bridges, buildings and school-houses.

An act entitled "An act to provide for the destruction of weeds along the right-of-way of railroad crossings for stock, and making railroads liable for stock killed or damaged by the same."

To amend section 21, chapter 89, of the General Statutes of the State of Kansas.

Act requiring all public and private municipal corporations existing under the laws of the state to pay their employes their salaries and wages weekly in lawful money, and providing a penalty for the violation of the act.

To destroy election returns after the expiration of five years.
Conferring upon women the right to vote and hold office.

Requiring the cutting and destroying of weeds in public highways on the rights-of-way of railroad companies.

Act to abolish the State Board of Pardons.

To remove the political disabilities of a class of persons named.

An act to amend and act to establish a code of civil procedure. This would have reduced the work of the supreme court one-half.

Act for the prevention of lotteries.

Act amendatory to section 16 of the act passed at the session of 1868, providing for the maintenance and support of illegitimate children, printed as paragraph 3262 of the General Statutes of 1869.

Relating to mortgages and other liens upon real estate, providing for the enforcement thereof, and regulating the right of redemption thereof.

Authorizing the issuance of life certificates in the public schools by educational institutions chartered by the state.

To punish drunkenness in public offices by forfeiture of office.

Regulating the discharge of corporation employes, to prevent black-listing of railroad employes, and to provide penalties for the violation thereof.

To provide joint rates over connecting lines of railroad in Kansas.

To authorize county treasurers of counties having less than twenty-five thousand inhabitants to deposit public moneys in a bank, or banks, in the counties, and to repeal chapter 189 of the Laws of 1889.

To provide for a uniform series of school books, by publication or otherwise, and for the distribution thereof; repealing any acts or portions thereof in conflict with this act. This bill, so manifestly just and proper, and in the interests of the people, the senate refused to pass.

There were forty-five of these bills, all told. These bills all died in the senate.

The People's party of the house voted for a bill appropriating \$60,000 for the relief of the sufferers by the severe drought of last year, which was defeated in the senate. We had not forgotten that in the drought in Eastern Kansas in 1860, several Northern legislatures appropriated large sums of money for the relief of the people of Eastern Kansas, but when we passed a bill in the house for the same purpose, for the benefit of our own people, the senate discovers that all such legislation is unconstitutional. No matter if the people west of the one hundredth meridian should starve to death, it was unconstitutional to help them; but \$50,000 for a big show or a big spree at Chicago two years hence was perfectly constitutional, if Republicans controlled the expenditures.

The house, early in its present session, passed a concurrent resolution asking Congress to abolish the national banks and to substitute legal tender treasury notes, to be issued in sufficient volume for the business of the country on a cash basis, regulating the amount per capita as population and the business interests of the country increased or expanded; and that all money issued by the Government should be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, and it was hoped that this resolution would be concurred in by the senate and sent to the United States Senate and House as the united wish of the legislature and of the people of the State of Kansas; but I regret to say that the senate, by a large majority, refused to concur in this resolution.

The house also declared themselves in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and asked the House of Representatives at Washington, largely Republican, to pass the senate bill in favor of free and unlimited coinage. This, I regret to say, was not done, and no relief has been afforded to the depressed business interests of the country by the Republican Congress which expired on the 4th of March last.

The Government has stopped the coinage of silver, or will, absolutely,

on the 1st of July next. Silver will go out of circulation, and silver certificates will take its place. These certificates are not a full legal tender. They will pass current as money with the people, but when debts are to be paid "bondholders," they will not pass. It is gold for the bondholders and the rich; silver certificates for the laboring people, with silver bullion mountain high idle in the treasury.

This silver bill of 1890 raises and settles another question. We have been told that "it's a step in the right direction." Perhaps it is, as it settles the power at least of the Government to receive on deposit one of the productions of the country in a Government "warehouse" and issue money in exchange. If one production can be thus deposited and money issued, why not all productions? If the silver bullion of Colorado, why not the wheat of Kansas or the cotton of the South? It seems to me this settles the question of power, and leaves this whole question one of policy. With this passing notice I leave it.

The house, after a careful examination, adopted virtually the Iowa rates of freights and fares on railroads, increasing them, however, nearly twenty per cent. over the Iowa railroad rates, with an average reduction of present Kansas rates of thirteen per cent. This bill also provided that no more should be charged for a short haul than a long one. It also provided for the election of railroad commissioners by a direct vote of the people, with power to fix and change freight rates as conditions required. I am sorry to say that the Republican senate failed to concur in the passage of this bill or any other upon the subject.

The house also passed a law reducing fares on railroads to two and a half cents per mile, and prohibiting the issuing of free passes. The senate refused to pass this law or any other on the subject.

The house passed a law preventing the charging of illegal interest, and providing that those who contracted for over ten per cent. should forfeit both interest and principal. This law the senate refused to concur in or to pass any other upon the subject.

The house passed laws for a stay of execution in cases of foreclosure of mortgages on real estate; also laws providing that sales should be set aside for inadequacy of price, and leaving this question to a jury rather than a court; also an equity of redemption law; but all legislation of this kind was defeated in the senate.

We were told by senators that "such laws would ruin our credit and drive capital from the state;" yet the state of Massachusetts, where capital exists in abundance, and money is loaned cheaper on real estate than in any other state in the union, has an "equity of redemption" of three years. At common law the equity of redemption was twenty-one years. Massachusetts also has a law which makes the mortgagor and mortgagee joint owners of land for the purpose of taxation, and the value of the mortgage is deducted from the assessed value of the land and taxed to the holders of the mortgages. Iowa has a stay law of two years. It applied to mortgages in existence at the passage of the law, and the supreme courts of Iowa and of the United States have decided that this law was constitutional.

The Jews also had an equity of redemption. I find it recorded in the book of Leviticus:

"The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine, saith the Lord. And in all the land of your possessions ye shall grant a redemption for the land."

"If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possessions, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold."

"And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it, then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it, that he may return unto his possession."

There was a genuine equity of redemption. The years were to be counted up for which the creditor had the possession and use of the land, and the "overplus," balance only had to be paid. But to continue:

"But if he be not able to restore it to him, then that which is sold shall remain in the

hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubilee; and in the jubilee it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession.

"And if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; within a full year may he redeem it.

"But the houses of the villages which have no wall round about them shall be counted as the fields of the country; they may be redeemed, and they shall go out in the jubilee."

Moses, the great law-giver of Israel, wrote as he was inspired by Omnipotent power, by God himself. What a pity that the senate of the state of Kansas was not there to have killed or defeated this equity of redemption law, as they did those passed by the house last winter. They would have told Moses and the great Omnipotent Jehovah that such legislation was calculated to injure the credit of the Jews and drive capital out of Jerusalem. The Kansas state senate evidently were not inspired, or in favor of such legislation, whether it comes from the People's house of representatives or the great Jehovah himself.

The house passed a bill making the standard silver dollars and half dollars legal tender for all debts contracted in the state of Kansas, and declaring gold contracts or contracts payable in gold void, as the state has a right to do under the constitution of the United States. This law was bitterly opposed by the Republicans of the house, on the theory that it would ruin our credit and drive capital from the state. The senate refused to consider this law.

The house passed a bill prohibiting the waiver of appraisement and stay laws in suits for the collection of debts, and to repeal chapter 66 of the Session Laws of 1872. The object of this law was to prevent the sale of property at less than two-thirds of its real value. This law, so manifestly in the interest of the people and just to all parties, died in the judiciary committee of the senate.

Senator Buchan complains of the investigation committees. These investigations are common to every legislature; the investigation of the state house shows that thousands of dollars have been squandered through the dishonesty or ignorance of the State House Commission.

Senator Buchan says the work on the state house has stopped, and that thousands of laborers are out of employment. I would like to ask Senator Buchan if it has come to this, that the state must provide work for the laboring people who have been reduced to want by our vicious financial legislation? The senate joined with the house in investigating the Coffeyville dynamite explosion. They also appointed a senate committee to investigate the state house after the house had commenced a full investigation. The house, it is true, investigated charges presented by Republicans against Judge Theodosius Botkin, and impeached him before the senate, where he must be tried. Had the house not done this, they would have shouldered the odium of keeping a drunken, corrupt judge on the bench. As it is, the senate must take that responsibility.

Charges were preferred against Theodosius Botkin, Judge of the thirty-second judicial district, charging that he was an habitual drunkard, corrupt in office, and a blasphemer. These charges were preferred by Republicans, J. F. Vanvoorhis, chairman of the Republican central committee of Seward county, heading the list. The house, as was its duty under the constitution, appointed a committee to investigate these charges. Witnesses were examined, and every charge made was abundantly proven. It was shown that Judge Botkin was not only an habitual drunkard, but was frequently drunk on the bench; that the city of Springfield had been robbed of over \$6,000 cash "by order of court," and that the tyranny practiced by him while on the bench was without a precedent since the days of Jeffries. The house, as a result, impeached him, and appointed a board of managers to present articles of impeachment to the senate, which was done. The house, to save expense, then passed an act to abolish the thirty-second judicial district. This the senate refused to pass, thereby making themselves responsible for the expense of the impeachment proceedings, which could have been saved by abolishing this

useless district. Every Republican in the house, with one exception, voted against the abolishment of this district. If this drunken, corrupt judge remains on the bench, the Republican senate must take the responsibility, and the odium will be with the Republican party.

A revision committee, after the election last fall, with a great parade and a sudden awakening, had published to the people that they would reduce the number of judicial districts to twenty-five instead of thirty-seven, and thus save twenty-five thousand dollars to the state. When the house had passed a bill to abolish one, where there is not fifteen days' honest work a year, the senate refused to concur, for no other reason than the admitted fact that a drunken Republican was on the bench. It will be seen that the People's party, if they expect to win the battle which they have been fighting to reduce taxation and interest, and save the homes of the people, must not only secure the house of representatives, but must secure the state senate, the governor and the executive departments of the state. Then, and not till then, can the People's party be held responsible for any of the legislation of the state. To accomplish this, we must unite and work as one man.

The Republican papers are harping upon the late utterances of Senator Ingalls, yet he has been repeating what J. K. Hudson said in a speech at Erie, in Neosho county, July 23, 1873, and what Senator Ingalls himself said in 1878, when the bill for the remonetizing of silver was pending. On the 14th day of February, 1878, in the United States Senate, Senator Ingalls used the following emphatic language:

"If by any process all business were compelled to be transacted on a coin basis, and actual specie payments should be enforced, the whole civilized world would be bankrupt before sunset. There is not enough coin in existence to meet one-thousandth part of the commercial obligations of mankind. Specie payments, as an actual fact, will never be resumed, neither in gold nor silver, in January, 1879, nor at any other date, here nor elsewhere. The pretense that there will be is either dishonest or delusive."

Again, in the conclusion of his speech, he says:

"We cannot disguise the truth that we are on the verge of an impending revolution. Old issues are dead. The people are arraving themselves on one side or the other of a portentous contest. On one side capital, formidably intrenched in privilege, arrogant from continued triumph, conservative, tenacious of old theories, demanding new concessions, enriched by domestic levy and foreign commerce, and struggling to adjust all values to its own standard. On the other is labor, asking for employment, striving to develop domestic industries, battling with the forces of nature, and subduing the wilderness; labor, starving and sullen in the cities, resolutely determined to overthrow a system under which the rich grow richer and the poor are growing poorer; a system which gives a Vanderbilt the possession of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, and condemns the poor to a poverty which has no refuge from starvation but the grave. Our demands for justice have been met with indifference or disdain. The laborers of the country asking for employment are treated like impudent mendicants begging for bread. The senator from Connecticut informs us that hundreds of millions of dollars are lying idle in New York and Hartford, which can be borrowed on good security at 4 per cent., and asks, with something like a sneer, how the coinage of a dollar worth ninety cents will benefit the poor unless they can give good security for their loans. The laborers of the West do not want to borrow; they want to earn. They do not wish to pay interest on other people's capital, but to sell their labor, and, if possible, acquire some capital of their own. The producers of the West want a market in which the value of their products will not be consumed by the cost of transportation over railroads that pool their earnings, and combine to keep their rates at a point where the carrier grows rich and the farmer grows poor. The senator from Wisconsin, in that admirable speech which left so little for others to say, declared that it was not a contest between the East and the West. Let us see. Against silver, as indicated by the vote on the Matthews resolution, are New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Maine, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont and Rhode Island; for it is every Western state but Michigan, California and Oregon, and every Southern state but Maryland and Delaware, and all these are divided. The senator from Wisconsin was right. It is not the East against the West. It is the East against the West and South combined. It is the corn and wheat and beef and cotton of the country against its bonds and its gold; its productive industries against its accumulations. It is the men who own the public debt against those who are to pay it, if it is paid at all. If the bonds of this Government are ever paid they will be paid by the labor of the country, and not by the capital. They are exempt from taxation and bear none of the burdens of society. The alliance between the West and South upon all matters affecting their material welfare hereafter is inevitable. Their interests are mutual and identical. With the removal of the causes of political dissensions that have so long separated them they must coalesce, and united they will be invincible. The valleys of the Mississippi and their tributaries form an empire that must have a homogeneous population, and a common destiny from the Yellowstone to the Gulf.

These great communities have been alienated by factions that have estranged them only to prey upon them, and to maintain political supremacy by their separation. Unfriendly legislation has imposed intolerable burdens on their energies; invidious discriminations have been made against their products; unjust tariffs have repressed their industries, while vast appropriations have been made to protect capital.

Ex-Senator Ingalls, in his belated interim, recently said:

"Speaking of the People's party movement, I think it may be compared to the feeling of Republicanism which swept over the country from 1856 to 1860. This result might be more quickly reached could the West and South find a common ground on which to stand. The East and North have recognized this all along, and have adroitly prevented any coalition. They know that anything in the South that endangers local government by the white element will be resisted, and that every other interest will be sacrificed to this end. *They have managed to strengthen this feeling by an occasional menace. In the West sectional feeling has been resorted to with varying success until this year, when it signally failed.*"

Senator Ingalls for thirteen years had been at the front fanning sectional prejudices, menacing the South with negro rule on one hand and exciting the prejudices of the North on the other, so as to prevent a union of the West and South, but has now thrown up the sponge.

The Republican platform last fall demanded the free coinage of silver, yet I notice the Republican press of the state are shouting for "Blaine and reciprocity." Have they forgotten the silver bill of 1878, which passed over President Hayes' veto in the senate by a vote of 46 ayes to 19 nays? Among the nays, and against "free coinage," was James G. Blaine, of Maine. Blaine in 1873 had voted to demonetize silver.

Senator Buchan complains that room was not provided last winter for the insane and the poor. Lord Salisbury, when asked the remedy for anarchy, said, "Remove the cause." Did it ever occur to Senator Buchan that we might to a large extent remove the cause of insanity? Recently an old citizen of Topeka, one who had been there from the start, finding his home sold from under him and he reduced to penury, in a temporary fit of insanity sent a bullet whizzing through his brain. I have just read of another, a life-long Republican of Lawrence, for thirty-six years a resident of Kansas, unfortunate in financial matters, with starvation, want, and penury staring him and his family in the face, who became a raving maniac. Kansas taxed with a mortgage debt of \$150,000,000, chattel mortgages of \$50,000,000 more, with \$14,000,000 drain from our state every year to pay interest; thousands every day losing their homes; men driven to insanity and crime, women to prostitution, children over the hills to the poor-house; yet Senator Buchan's and the Republican remedy is "more poor-houses, more jails, more asylums, more Magdalene hospitals." It has never occurred to them to remove the cause.

I need hardly tell this audience that labor is the only thing that produces wealth; others may accumulate, but labor produces all. Labor supports the family of the man who labors, and also the family of the man who does not. The cause of the condition of the laboring people, the oppressed condition of the middle classes of this country, and of agriculture and all the industries, is the vicious class legislation since the war. Take, if you will, two periods in our history.

First, from 1850 to 1860, ten years of profound peace. The marvelous increase of wealth during this period exceeds that of any other period of our history. The taxable wealth of this country in 1850 was \$6,024,666,909. In 1860 it was \$12,081,560,005, having more than doubled in ten years. Now take another ten years of profound peace, from 1870 to 1880. The taxable property in 1870 was \$14,178,986,722. In 1880 it was \$16,902,993,543, an increase in this ten years of less than \$3,000,000,000. The estimated value of property in 1850 was \$7,135,780,228. In 1860 it was \$16,153,616,016. In 1870 it was \$31,068,518,507. In 1880 it was \$43,642,000,000. In 1890 it was \$62,000,000.0. It seems that the marvelous increase of wealth is not of that kind that gets on the tax rolls. Think of it. An increase of taxable property in ten years, 1850 to 1860, of over

six billion, and from 1860 to 1890, a period of thirty years, the increase is no more. In fact, the increase was only fifty per cent. in thirty years, compared to 100 per cent. in ten years.

It was our boast, before the war, that we were a nation of small property owners; that every family owned its home. During this period there were no mortgages on our farms, the people were out of debt, we were building factories and shops as we had never built them before. How was it from 1870 to 1880? Property was passing rapidly into the hands of the few; our farms were plastered all over with mortgages; prices were depreciating; our factories had closed their doors; our shops were idle, and a million of tramps in 1878 filled the land. Crime increased as it had never increased before; our jails, penitentiaries, poor-houses and asylums were filled; civilization was going backward and downward towards barbarism and the dark ages; ministers would get down on their knees and bemoan the low condition of human society, and then get up and vote to make it worse.

It must not be forgotten that the ten years before the war was the low tariff period, while the ten years after the war was not only the high tariff protective period, but we had a "war tariff." This shows that we can have good times under a low tariff, and hard times under a high tariff.

I was amused at a protective tariff speech which Mr. Horr, of Michigan, made in Topeka last spring. He said that "the effect of a protective tariff was to stimulate production, and cause competition, and thus reduce prices." Yet when the tariff is taken off of sugar, the price immediately fell to a sum equal to the tariff reduction. In a paper recently I read the following: "Twenty-five thousand tons of American steel rails have lately been sold in Mexico for less than the same could have been obtained from the English manufacturers." Thus does protection operate to close the markets of the world against American products, and we are compelled to pay \$11.00 a ton more for steel rails than our own factories sell the same rails for to a foreign government or people. We, of course, make up the difference in railroad building in this country by voting municipal bonds, which remain a permanent tax on the people.

Just how a reduction in prices is going to protect American labor Mr. Horr did not inform us. I have always understood the theory of protection to be to produce a scarcity so as to keep prices up. According to the theory of Mr. Horr, it must be the tariff on wheat and other agricultural productions that has stimulated its production and reduced the price. There is now a tariff on eggs, and of course this will stimulate every old hen in the country to lay more eggs, and thus reduce the price.

David A. Wells, in a recent work, says: "The steam power of the world is equal to forty millions of horse power, or the labor of one thousand millions of men; that half of this steam power is in the United States, doing the work of five hundred million men, more than seven times our entire population. It is this labor being done by steam that we are protecting. This aggregated wealth invested in steam gets the benefit; the real laborers of this country are not benefited, as our past history and prices of labor prove."

The statistics of trade show that in fifteen years we have exported from the United States to Europe \$1,530,000,000, including productions and money, more than we have imported. Does this make us that much richer, or that much poorer? If richer, then Ireland ought to be the richest nation in the world, as for forty years she has exported \$100,000,000 a year more than she has imported. In fifteen years England imported *seven billion* more than she exported, making that little island a dumping ground for the wealth of the world. All will admit, I think, that no more money should be collected for taxes on tariff than is necessary for the needs of the country. We have no right to tax one man to

build up another man's business. A tariff is an indirect tax, and its tendency is to raise the price of articles imported. If not, why do the great manufacturers protest against the reduction of the tariff? It is true that with such articles as we export a tariff will not raise the price; hence a tariff on wheat, cattle, hogs, and such things as the farmer raises to sell, and which are not imported, a tariff high or low, would not affect the price. If a tariff, however, on such articles as we buy in foreign countries and import, does not raise the price, it is no protection. We are caught and seduced with the cry of "protection to American labor," when the truth is, labor is not protected, but the enhanced price goes into the pockets of the manufacturer.

We are clamoring for a deep water harbor at Galveston, Texas, to cheapen transportation so as to reduce prices on what we import and buy, and enhance prices on what we raise and sell. Whilst I am in favor of this deep harbor, I cannot comprehend how men can advocate it and then want to restrict trade by law. All restrictions on trade and commerce must be injurious to all parties concerned. President Garfield once said that he was "in favor of that kind of protection that would result in ultimate free trade." Even a tariff for revenue is not a just system of taxation, as we are taxed, not on our incomes and abilities to pay, but upon what we eat and wear. It is a tax on the poor for the benefit of the rich—a man with a wife and nine children paying ten times as much as a rich man with no wife or children.

We had a high or Whig tariff in 1842, after the election of Harrison and Tyler. This tariff was reduced one-half in 1846, under Polk, and again twenty per cent. in 1857, and continued low until 1860. It has been a high tariff ever since. Where is the home market it has given us? What effect has it had on the price of labor? These are serious questions, and should be studied from a "non-partisan standpoint." In 1845, the last year of that high tariff, the lowest price of mess pork in New York was \$9.25, the highest was \$14.12. In 1847, the next year after the tariff reduction, the lowest price was \$10.25, the highest was \$16.00. Wheat in 1845 was 85 cents, the lowest, to \$1.40, the highest. In 1847 the lowest price was \$1.05, the highest \$1.90; and it ranged from 93 cents to \$1.95 during that whole low-tariff period, sinking below a dollar only once in thirteen years.

Wool in 1845 was 20 cents, the lowest, to 38 cents, the highest, per pound, in the New York market. In 1847 the price was 24 cents, the lowest, to 34 cents, the highest. In 1857, with no tariff on wool, the price went up to 45 cents per pound. The lowest that year was 34 cents per pound. This may seem strange, but the reason is obvious. The English factories buy our wool at precisely the same prices the American factories do. We send ten thousand pounds of wool to the New York market; five thousand goes to English factories, five thousand to Massachusetts factories. We get the same price for each.

The English get wool, duty free, from Australia and South America, to mix with our wool to make the best cloths, while our factories are charged ten to twenty cents per pound by our own Government *on each pound imported*, in the shape of tariff duties. This depresses the wool industries in this country. We cannot compete with the English factories with their cheaper raw material. Half of our factories are now idle, and our own wool does not command the price it would could we get cheap wool to mix with it from Australia and South America duty free.

As I said, wheat but twice, from 1846 to 1860, under a low tariff, went as low in New York as \$1.00 per bushel. This was in 1848, when it went as low as 95 cents, and was as high the same year as \$1.40, and in 1857, when it went as low as 93 cents, and was as high as \$1.20. But under a high tariff, levied, we are told, "to give us a home market," wheat in 1874 was 93 cents; 1875, 92 cents; 1876, 84 cents; 1878, 83 cents; 1883, 95 cents;

1884, 74 cents; 1885, 68 cents; 1886, 83 cents. And this has been the range of prices to the present.

Corn, the last year of high or Whig tariff (1845), was as low as 45 cents and as high as 85 cents in New York. In 1847, the first year of a tariff reduced one-half, corn was as low only as 64 cents, and went as high in New York as \$1.10 per bushel. Corn, from 1847, under the low tariff, was, in 1848, 52 to 78 cents; 1847, 57 to 70 cents; 1850, 55 to 72 cents. The lowest price was in 1856, when it went down to 48 cents, but was as high as 74 cents the same year. Under our present high tariff it went as low as 38 cents in 1876, and the highest figure was 49 cents, and the price has continued low ever since.

Flour, in 1845, was \$4.31 per barrel, and as high as \$7.00. In 1847, under the low tariff, it went up; the lowest price was \$5.50, highest \$8.25. From that time until 1860, the lowest price reached was in 1858, when it went as low as \$3.75 per barrel, but was as high as \$5.25 per barrel the same year. In 1886, the same flour, under a high tariff, was as low as \$2.65, and the highest figure only \$3.50.

In 1845, the last year of the high tariff of 1842, we exported only \$336,779.00 worth of wheat, and \$598,598.00 of flour. Under the stimulation given to trade and commerce by the reduction of the tariff one-half in 1846, the next year we exported \$6,049,350 of wheat, and \$26,133,911 worth of flour. In 1857, when the tariff was again reduced, the export of wheat reached \$22,240,857, and of flour \$25,882,316. In 1845, our export of corn was \$411,741.00 only. In 1847 it was \$14,395,212.00. It seems to me that these figures ought to satisfy every farmer or any sensible man.

The assessed value of taxable property of the United States in 1850, as I have said, was \$6,024,666,909. In 1860, after ten years of profound peace and ten years of low tariff, our national taxable wealth increased to \$12,084,560,005 — you see, more than doubling. In 1870, including the war, with an inflated currency, it was only \$14,178,886,732, whilst in 1880, another ten years of peace, it reached only \$16,902,993,543. I have not before me the manufacturing statistics of 1850 to 1860, but if you will examine the census of 1850 and 1860, you will find that we doubled the number of factories, doubled the capital employed, also the number of laborers, and that under a low tariff. In 1870 to 1880, I find in a table before me some curious statistics, considering the special protection under the high tariff of 1870 to 1880. For instance, we had 2,078 agricultural implement factories in 1870, and only 1,943 in 1880, a loss of 135 factories. Ready-made clothing factories in 1870, 9,705; in 1880, 6,728, a loss of 2,977 factories. Iron and steel factories in 1870, 3,939; in 1880, 1,519, a loss of 2,420 factories. Woolen goods in 1870, 1,938; in 1880, 1,990, an increase in ten years of 52. Of worsted goods in 1870, 102; in 1880, 76, a loss of 26 factories. Even of cotton goods in 1870, we had 969 factories, and in 1880 only 1,005, showing that in ten years we built but 46 cotton factories.

I am indebted to Spofford's American Almanac for these statistics. He is the librarian of Congress, and a strong Republican. Since 1862 over 296,000,000 acres of public lands have been given to railways, enough to make four states as large as Kansas. What is the remedy for all our ills? I answer, reduce the tariff, tax the luxuries, not the necessities of life; lower the duties, for instance, on clothing, raise them on diamonds. We want a tariff in the interests of labor instead of capital and corporations and monopolies, as at present. Reduce the burdens of the people as much as possible, increase the volume of money to at least fifty dollars *per capita*, and not over ten per cent. on wealth, then increase it as population, wealth, and business increase, and make it as stable as the metals, which must always be a question of chance. Let the Government own and control the railroads and other transportation lines and operate them in the interest of the people, and not place the carrying of our products to market at the mercy of corporations. We clamor for cheap

transportation in order to reduce prices, yet we restrict trade and commerce by law. If the theory of protection be the true one, we ought to fill our harbors with stones and our rivers with snags. We spend millions to remove the bars and snags from our rivers, when in truth and in fact the snags of the Mississippi are the only protection we have against the cheap sugar of Louisiana. What difference would it make to the sugar producer of Louisiana whether the Government or the steamships charge two or three cents more a pound on imported sugar?

Blaine's remedy is reciprocity with the South American republics, and at once the high protectionists of yesterday run wild on reciprocity. The products of South America are principally cattle, sheep, hides, and wool. These New England wants in exchange for the products of her factories. This is the "home market" promised the West by the advocates of protection; but when delegates from the Government of Canada come to Washington to negotiate reciprocity between Canada and the United States, Harrison and Blaine send them home. "No reciprocity is wanted with Canada." Reciprocity, as I understand it, is, "We will admit the products of your country free if you will ours." Just how this differs from Democratic "free trade" I cannot imagine. Some one has stated, "It is free trade on ice." The Knights of Reciprocity must be free traders in disguise. It is simply a "rose by another name."

But, gentlemen, we have prospered under a low tariff and we have prospered under a high tariff; hence the shrinkage in values and the depression in business and agriculture all over this country cannot be the tariff. We must find some other cause.

We boast of our great and rich country. On the political stump and in the party press we are told how our country has increased in not only power but wealth. Yet, the facts are, that this great increase is in railroads, banks and great corporations; that *fifteen thousand* individuals and firms own *one-half* of the wealth of the whole country; that farms everywhere are heavily mortgaged; that agriculture is depressed, and the people are rapidly becoming millionaires on the one hand and paupers on the other; that with all our boasted increase of wealth, which has all been produced by labor, the laboring people on the farm and in the shop are in a worse condition than they were twenty-five years ago. The census just taken shows over two millions of families in this great and rich country without homes. *Twelve millions of paupers!* We have placed the power to *make money* and fix its *value* in the hands of corporations, which enables them to put down or put up prices by making money plenty or scarce. We loan two hundred millions to the national banks at half of one per cent., and give them the power to absorb the whole wealth of the people in interest. We have placed the transportation of the products of the soil in the hands of corporations. The transmission of intelligence is also in the hands of corporations; and thus, you see, the people are at the mercy of these corporations; and, like *idiots*, we wonder at the condition of the people.

General George Washington, when elected commander-in-chief of the colonial armies in June, 1776, stipulated that if he accepted the trust, *it must be without pay*. When the war was over and the independence of the colonies was acknowledged, the people would have made Washington king of the new nation. They were ready to heap any emoluments on the successful general. Yet Washington refused them all, bade his officers and men adieu, retired to Annapolis where Congress was in session, resigned his commission, and at once returned to private life, to his farm at Mt. Vernon. He sought no pension, no promotions; did not ask even to retire on half pay. When unanimously elected president in 1788 he accepted the position, again stipulating to serve his country without a salary or any reward. When he retired, at the close of his second term, refusing a re-election, he at once returned to his farm and the pursuits

of private life. With *him*, office was a sacred trust, exercised not for private gain, but to promote the public good. Washington left no children, hence he is called "the father of his country." Washington, in fact, left no descendants, politically speaking; no one since Washington has voluntarily returned to private life without clamoring for a pension or "half pay." We have already created a pensioned aristocracy in this country, civil and military. Instead of studying the simplicity of the father, we are aping the monarchies of the old world.

Jefferson, when elected President, travelled from Monticello, his residence, to Washington, on horseback. What President would now think of traveling to Washington without a Pullman vestibule car?

The receipts of the United States treasury in 1796, the last year of Washington's administration, were \$8,607,821.00. The expenditures were only \$5,790,650.00, or about \$1.50 *per capita*. The receipts of the treasury in 1888 were \$371,403,277.00. The expenditures, excluding interest on the public debt, were \$267,932,180.00, or about \$5.00 *per capita*. The appropriations in the last Congress reached one billion, or over \$15.00 for each man, woman and child in the country.

Before the war we had no poor men and few rich ones. We could have counted all our millionaires on the fingers of one hand and the paupers on the other. To-day we are a nation of millionaires on the one hand and paupers on the other. In the number of rich men we now exceed the old world. These men in many, in fact in most instances, have been made rich by class legislation, by which the rich have been made richer and the poor poorer. Public offices and public trusts are to-day bought and sold with as little hesitancy as we used to buy hogs and sheep. The prices of everything we produce are controlled by trusts, that reduce and increase the prices of everything we consume. We go to the election and vote for this ticket because it is headed "Republican," or the other because it is headed "Democratic," and whichever is elected produces no change in this class legislation. *One million of men are idle*, and labor is in competition. The price of labor is not only low, but is continually going lower. In our political frenzy we have not time to stop and study the cause. "Opposition to all monopoly of money, lands or transportation, equal rights, equal burdens, equal taxation, and equal benefits to all, with special privileges to none," was the touchstone of Jeffersonian Democracy. The Declaration of Independence teaches that governments are intended for the benefit of the people, not for the benefit of the few against the many; that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that those who have to obey laws should have a voice in making them. In a word, that all men and all women were created free and equal, and endowed by the Creator with the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Daniel Webster, the great Whig leader, once in the United States Senate said: "The great interest of the country, the producing cause of all its prosperity, is labor! labor! labor! The Government was made to encourage and protect this industry and give it security. To this very end, with this object in view, power was given to Congress over the currency of the country." President Lincoln, in his annual message to Congress, in 1861, said that "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the product of labor, and could never have existed without labor, and therefore labor deserves a much higher consideration." It follows, if this country is to be built up and prosper, we must protect labor and the laboring people. When labor suffers, all must suffer. By the help of labor-saving machinery one man can now do the work that ten men used to do. Labor, therefore, should share some of the benefits; either work fewer hours, and have more time for reading and recreation, or receive much higher wages, or both. As it now is, those who work the hardest are paid the smallest wages; those who do not work at all, get nearly all. There should be no unnecessary restrictions on trade and commerce.

What Kansas needs is the free markets of the world, in which to buy and sell. We should have low rates of transportation, and cease erecting barriers by bad laws. I do not comprehend how it benefits labor to protect corporations and monopolies, and then vote to fill our country with the slave labor of China and the old world. Revenues to support the Government, experience has demonstrated, can be collected from a tariff on imports. But such a tariff should be adjusted in the interests of the great producing classes of the country; in the interests of labor rather than the rich manufacturer. All will concede that no more money (or tax) should be collected from any source than enough to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered. One of the great needs of our people is more money. The great lawgiver of Israel, three thousand years ago, said: "Money answereth all things." Napoleon, when asked what were the three most essential requisites in war, said: "The first is money, the second is money, and the third is still more money." This is as true in peace as in war. If money is scarce, trade languishes, and our industries are paralyzed, the price of labor comes down, and thousands, if not millions, are out of employment. At such times, what money there is flees to the great money centers, and goes out of circulation like a congestive chill when the blood leaves the extremities and goes to the heart. If, on the other hand, the volume of money is increased, trade is stimulated, our industries leap forward, and all the idle laborers are induced to go to work; the price of labor increases. The most prosperous period in our history was just after the close of the war, when the soldiers had been paid off and returned home, and the money with which they were paid went into general circulation.

The population in 1860 was 31,443,321. In 1870 it was 38,358,371—say 35,000,000 at the close of the war, in 1866. At that time there were in circulation moneys as follows: Demand notes, \$272,162; greenbacks, \$400,619,206; temporary loans, \$120,176,196; one and two-year treasury notes, \$3,454,230; certificates of indebtedness, \$26,391,000; postal currency, \$7,030,700; compound-interest treasury notes, \$159,012,140; fractional currency, \$20,040,176; 7-30 treasury notes, August and September, 1864, \$139,301,700; 7-30 treasury notes, 1864-5, \$806,251,550—making a total of \$1,682,549,060. There was outstanding at that time, State bank circulation, \$19,996,163; national bank notes, \$281,470,608, making \$301,475,771; which gives the sum of all kinds of paper money then in circulation at \$1,984,024,831, exclusive of gold and silver. Adding the gold and silver then in circulation, and we had at least \$57 *per capita*, or over \$2,000,000,000.

There is some difference of opinion as to the amount of money now actually in circulation. Senator Plumb estimates it at less than \$10 *per capita*. The treasury department estimates the amount of money of all kinds now in this country at \$1,500,000,000; the population at 64,000,000. This is \$25 *per capita*; but it is less than half the money in circulation when we had but 35,000,000 population. We have almost doubled the population since 1866, and shrunk the volume of money almost one-half. But this money is not in circulation; \$751,000,000 is idle in the treasury and Government depositories. Good banking requires 25 to 30 per cent. of deposits to be kept on hand to pay depositors. I have before me a table showing the condition of the national and other banks January 30th, 1888. There were 3,049 national banks, with a capital of \$578,500,000. They had on deposit, or rather due depositors, \$1,274,700,000, being more than double their capital stock. If twenty-five per cent. of this was in the bank vaults it was not in circulation; this would be \$318,675,-000. There were 3,803 state banks, with a capital of \$214,000,000; their deposits were \$1,480,000,000. There were twenty-six savings banks, with \$4,000,000 capital, \$43,500,000 deposits. Savings banks without capital, 625; deposits, \$950,200,000; being a total number of banks of 7,448, with a

capital stock of \$717,300,000; deposits, \$2,902,300,000. This shows that there was due depositors three times their capital stock, or that there was due depositors double the whole volume of money in the whole country. I am now asked how this is possible. I answer, the same money is deposited over and over. But good banking requires twenty-five per cent. of all amounts due depositors to be kept in the bank vaults. This in 1888 was \$725,000,000, which leaves but a small amount in actual circulation, if the banks are doing a sound business. As early as 1878 the volume of money had shrunk over one-half, leaving this country on the verge of bankruptcy and ruin. We also find that this is only a repetition of history. This is the natural effect of a shrinkage in the volume of money. "At the beginning of the Christian era, we find the metallic money of the Roman Empire amounted to \$1,800,000,000. By the end of the fifteenth century it had shrunk to less than \$200,000,000. During this period a most extraordinary and baleful change took place in the condition of the world. Population dwindled, and commerce, arts, wealth and freedom all disappeared. The people were reduced by poverty and misery to the most degraded conditions of serfdom and slavery. The disintegration of society was almost complete. The conditions of life were so hard that individual selfishness was the only thing consistent with the instinct of self-preservation. All public spirit, all generous emotions, all the nobler aspirations of man shriveled and disappeared as the volume of money shrank and as prices fell. History records no such disastrous transition as that from the Roman Empire to the Dark Ages. Various explanations have been given of this entire breaking down of the framework of society, but it was certainly coincident with a shrinkage in the volume of money, which was also without historical parallel. The crumbling institutions kept even step and pace with the shrinkage in the stock of money and the falling of prices. All other attendant circumstances than these last have occurred in other historical periods, unaccompanied and unfollowed by any such mighty disasters. It is a suggestive coincident that the first glimmer of light only came with the invention of bills of exchange and paper substitutes, through which the scanty stock of the precious metals was increased in efficiency."

In 1878 the shrinkage in the volume of money filled this country with tramps, and history is repeating itself. Crime in 1878 was increasing at a terrible rate. Speaking of the tramps at that time, the following are quotations from the good, law-abiding papers and citizens of that period. The Chicago *Times* said: "Hand grenades should be thrown among those who are striving to obtain higher wages, as by *such* treatment they will be taught a valuable lesson, and other strikers would take warning by their fate." *Scribner's Monthly* made use of this language: "He (the tramp) has no right but that which society may see fit for its grace to bestow upon him. He has no more rights than the sow that wallows in the gutter, or the lost dog that hovers around the city square." The Cincinnati *Commercial* said: "One wonders why Matthews wanted to bother himself about the eight-hour theory. Should Government employees be raised to the rank of favorites, and classified for pampering at the public treasury?" The New York *Independent* said: "We would recommend the farmers to take the law into their own hands, and organize themselves into vigilance committees, and turn sharp-shooters, and bring down at least one of these bread-or-blood gentry at every fire." The New York *Times* said: "There seems to be but one remedy, and it must come by a change of ownership of the soil, and a creation of a class of land-owners on the one hand, and of tenant farmers on the other—something similar to what has long existed in the old countries of Europe." Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in a discourse delivered in his church in Brooklyn, said: "Is not a dollar a day enough to buy bread? Water costs nothing, and a man who cannot live on bread and water is not fit to

live. A family may live, laugh, love, and be happy, that eats bread in the morning with good water, and water and good bread at noon, and water and bread at night." The Chicago *Tribune* said: "The simplest plan, probably, when one is not a member of the humane society, is to put a little strychnine or arsenic in the meat or other supplies furnished tramps. This produces death within a comparatively short time, is a warning to other tramps, and puts the coroner in a good humor." If law-abiding citizens can give such advice as the above, what can we expect from the people who are made to suffer from the ills of a shrinkage in the volume of currency.

David Hume, who was one of the greatest political economists of the age, said one hundred and forty years ago: "The volume of money in the country, other things being equal, regulates prices, regulates labor and all the productions of labor." If the volume of money is large, no matter whether it is gold, silver, or paper, as in 1866-7, prices will be higher, labor will be sought after, and the prices of labor will rise. If we shrink the volume of money as we did in 1878 or at present, we stagnate business and paralyze the industries.

Dr. Wyland, a writer of the old school, in his "Elements of Political Economy," says: "We cannot too often reiterate, nor too strongly emphasize, the fundamental principle that *industry is limited to capital*, and every increase of capital demands an increase of labor. When the number of laborers is great and the amount of capital is small, there will be a competition if laborers for work. This tends at once to reduce the rate of wages, and some will fail to obtain employment and others receive barely enough to evade starvation. There are consequently great distress, general discontent, and often violent insurrections, which aggravate the whole difficulty. On the contrary, when the number of laborers is small and the amount of capital great, there will be competition among capitalists for labor, and the wages or price of labor will rise."

Professor Walker, another writer of the old school, in his work called "The Science of Wealth," says: "Capital should at least increase in a degree corresponding to the increase of population. If it does not labor is crippled, wages fall, and starvation eventually ensues. Ireland may be quoted as an illustration. Her soil was wrested from the people by conquest at different periods, from the reign of Henry II to the battle of the Boyne; has passed into the hands of foreigners, who draw away annually all her surplus products. Population increases from year to year, but capital does not increase correspondingly. Nay, even the waste of the soil and of implements is not fully and honestly supplied. What is the necessary consequence? Increasing poverty and ultimate starvation or emigration.

"We have said that capital is formed from the annual savings of labor. Twenty-five million dollars a year goes from Ireland to absentee landlords, and \$40,000,000 are taken away every year in taxes. The Irish people can make no savings; there can be no increase of capital; starvation or emigration is their inevitable fate. From 9,000,000 before the famine of 1846, the population fell rapidly to a little over 4,000,000. At this time the equilibrium was so far restored that wages rose to a rate sufficient to secure to the laborer a decent subsistence." What a picture! Instead of increasing the volume of money to meet the necessities of 9,000,000 of people, they reduced population by starvation and emigration to 4,000,000, to make it correspond to the volume of money in the country — reducing the Irish people to serfdom.

History is repeating itself in this country. President Grant said in his message to Congress, December 2d, 1873: "To increase our exports, sufficient currency is required to keep all the industries of the country employed. *Without this, national as well as individual bankruptcy must ensue.*"

In 1878 we partially remonetized silver, and stopped the destruction of the treasury notes, which to some extent restored prosperity. But since then we have increased in population to 64,000,000, but we have only about half the money we had in 1866, and are wondering at the hard times. There is no excuse for this.

The people of this nation have a mortgage debt of over \$12,000,000,000. Without an increase, and a great increase, in the volume of money, this debt can never be paid. "If this debt cannot be paid," I hear you ask, "what then?" I cannot answer this question. I know, or think I know, what God would do if left to Him. In the eleventh chapter of Exodus it is related that "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak to the children of Israel and tell every man to borrow of his neighbor, and every woman of her neighbor, jewels of silver and jewels of gold; and God said He would soften the hearts of the Egyptians so they would loan them what they wanted." In the next chapter it is related that Moses did as the Lord told him, and the children of Israel did as Moses told them; they borrowed jewels of silver and jewels of gold, borrowed raiment; they spoiled the Egyptians, that is, borrowed all they had; and 600,000 men, besides children, left Egypt the same night. The Lord led them in a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. When God and Moses were helping to negotiate this loan, they knew that not a dollar was to be paid back. Had some of our Senators been there they would have called the Lord a lunatic and Moses a repudiator. The only explanation I have ever heard made of this transaction, and the only one that can be made, is, that this property belonged to the Israelites, was produced by their labor, and God took this plan to restore to them what in justice belonged to them. I accept the explanation.

Now let me ask who produced the wealth of this nation? Take my advice and do not wait for God to restore to the people of this country what in justice belongs to them. We might not like the way or the results if we, too, were swallowed up in the Red Sea—a sea of blood, perhaps. Let me tell you, if that contest ever comes between capital and labor in this country, that God and Moses will be found on the side of the laboring people now as they were then. God always was on the side of the poor—of the laboring masses. When the Lord chose his twelve apostles there was not a banker, a merchant, a lawyer or a money loaner in the whole lot.

We have another incident. When Nehemiah, the prophet, went to Jerusalem from Babylon to rebuild the walls, he relates:

"And there was a great cry of the people, and of their wives, against their brethren the Jews.

"For there were that said, We, our sons and our daughters, are many; therefore, we take up corn for them, that we may eat and live.

"Some also there were that said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards and houses that we might buy corn, because of the dearth.

"There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards.

"Yet now, our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children; and lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought unto bondage already; neither is it in our power to redeem them, for other men have our lands and vineyards."

The good Nehemiah then said :

"And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words.

"Then I consulted with myself, [he did not go and consult Wall street,] and I rebuked the nobles and the rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brethren, and I set a great assembly against them, [stirred the people up, as it were].

"Then I said, it is not good that ye do; ought ye not to walk in the fear of our God because of the reproach of the heathen, our enemies.

"Restore, I pray you, to them even this day their lands, their vineyards, and their houses."

And they did it. The stroke of a pen wiped them all out. Some of our Senators ought to have been there to remind Nehemiah that he was an anarchist, that he was destroying the credit of the Jews, and driving capital out of Jerusalem.

I am not advising the wiping out of this mortgage debt as Nehemiah, commissioned by God, wiped it out in Jerusalem. I am not advising a settlement as made by the Israelites when they left Egypt. I am only relating what took place under the direction and sanction of Jehovah. The people of this country are not repudiators. They want to pay, not repudiate, but they must have the means. What this country needs, what the people must have, is money that will pay debts. The more money in circulation the easier it is to do this.

In 1858 we were digging out of our mines over \$70,000,000 of gold and silver annually; to-day, with double the population, we are producing less gold and silver. Yet the treasury notes, or so called greenback money, have been reduced since 1868 over \$150,000,000. The national bank circulation has been contracted over \$300,000,000, with \$800,000,000 idle in the treasury. With these facts before us we are still wondering what is the cause of the hard times, and asking ourselves when times will be better.

That we can no longer depend upon gold and silver as money must be apparent to all. The superintendent of the mint estimates, or rather states, the amount of gold in the world at \$3,727,018,869; silver, \$3,826,571,346; total of both metals, \$7,547,590,215. As there is not gold and silver enough in the whole world, if we had it all, to pay the mortgage debts of this country, what is to take the place of gold and silver as money is the great question of the day.

This raises the question of what is money, its functions, its use, and its value?

Aristotle, writing on money, said: "Money by itself has value only by law, and not by nature; so that a change of convention between those who use it is sufficient to deprive it of all its value and power to satisfy all our wants. But with regard to a future exchange (if we want nothing at present) money is, as it were, our security that it may take place when we do want something."

John Locke, in "Considerations Regarding Money," published in 1691, says: "Mankind, having covenanted to put an imaginary value upon gold and silver, by reason of their durableness and scarcity, and not being very liable to be counterfeited, have made them, by general consent, the common pledges whereby men are assured, in exchange for them, to receive equally valuable things to those they parted with, for any quantity of those metals; by which means it comes to pass that the intrinsic value regarding those metals, made the common barter, is nothing but the quantity which men give or receive for them; they having, as money, no other value but as pledges to procure what one wants or desires."

Baudeau, reputed one of the most eminent of an early school of French economists, says: "Coin money in circulation is nothing, as I have said elsewhere, but effective titles on a general mass of useful and agreeable enjoyment which cause the well-being and propagation of the human race. It is a kind of bill of exchange, or order payable at the will of the bearer."

Adam Smith says: "A guinea may be considered a bill for a certain quantity of necessaries and conveniences upon all the tradesmen in the neighborhood."

Jevons' "Money Exchanges," chapter 8, says: "Those who use coins in ordinary business need never inquire how much metal they contain. Probably not one person in two thousand in this kingdom knows, or need know, that a sovereign should contain 123.27447 grains of standard gold. Money is made to go. People want coin, not to keep in their own pockets, but to pass it off into their neighbors' pockets."

Assuming the population to-day to be 65,000,000, and the ratio of its annual increase $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the population of next year will be 67,166,600. The percentage of monetary increase to be provided for that year

should therefore be based on the increased number; and so on for each succeeding year.

I have thought best to collect a variety of authority from the most distinguished men on financial economy, to support my position, that "the value of each dollar depends on the number of dollars in circulation."

John Locke, in his "Considerations," published in 1690, said: "Money, while the same quantity of it is passing up and down the kingdom in trade, is really a standing measure of the falling and rising value of other things in reference to one another, and the alteration in price is true in them only. But if you increase or lessen the quantity of money current in traffic in any place, then the alteration of value is in the money. The value of money in any one country is the present quantity of the current money in that country, in proportion to the present trade."

James Mills, in his "Treatise on Political Economy," says: "And again, in whatever degree, therefore, the quantity of money is increased or diminished, other things remaining the same, in that same proportion the value of the whole, and of every part, is reciprocally increased or diminished."

John Stuart Mill, "Political Economy," says: "The value of money, other things being the same, varies inversely as its quantity; every increase of quantity lowering the value, every diminution raising in a ratio exactly equivalent. Alterations in the cost of the production of the precious metals do not act upon the value of money, except just in proportion as they increase or diminish its quantity."

Ricardo, "Reply to Bosanquet," says: "The value of money in any country is determined by the amount existing. Commodities would rise or fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money; I assume, as a fact, that it is incontrovertible. There can exist no depreciation in money but from excess. However debased a coin by age may become, it will preserve its mint value; that is to say, it will pass in circulation for the intrinsic value of the bullion which it ought to contain, provided it be not in too great abundance." In this case, Ricardo's is the supposed case of a country actually using one million gold pieces containing one hundred grains.

Sir James Graham says: "The value of money is in the inverse ratio of its quantity, the supply of commodities remaining the same."

Torrens, in his work on "Political Economy," says: "Gold is a commodity governed by the law of supply and demand. If the value of all other commodities in relation to gold rises and falls as their quantities increase or diminish in relation to the commodities, gold must rise and fall as its quantity is diminished or increased."

Woloski says: "The sum total of the precious metals is reckoned at fifty milliards, one-half gold and one-half silver. If by a stroke of the pen they suppress one of these metals in the monetary service, they double the demand for the other metal, to the ruin of all debtors."

Sernuschi says: "The purchasing power of money is in direct proportion to the volume of money existing."

Professor Francis A. Walker, in his work on "Money," page 57, says: "The value of money in any country is determined by the amount existing. Its (money's) power of acquisition depends not on its substance but on its quantity."

Prof. De Colonge, in the American Cyclopædia of Commerce, article on "Money," says: "The rate at which money exchanges for other things is determined by its quantity. Supposing the amount of trade and the mode of circulation to remain stationary, if the quantity of money be increased its value will fall and the price of other commodities will proportionately rise, as the latter will then exchange against a greater amount of money; if on the other hand the quantity of money be reduced, its value will be raised and prices in a corresponding degree diminished,

as commodities will then have to be exchanged for a less amount of money. In whatever degree, therefore, the quantity of money is increased or diminished, other things remaining the same, in that same proportion the value of the whole and of every part is reciprocally diminished or increased."

A curtailment of the volume of money in any country will increase the value of money of that country. All the authorities agree that this law applies to all forms of money, whatever the material, so that it applies to paper money with precisely the same force that it applies to metallic money.

Mr. Samuel Jevons, in his work on "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," says: "There is plenty of evidence to prove that an incontrovertible paper money, if carefully limited in quantity, can retain its full value. Such was the case with the Bank of England notes for several years after the suspension of specie payments in 1797, and such is the case with the present notes of the Bank of France."

Mr. Gallatin said: "If in a country which wants and possesses a metallic currency of \$70,000,000, a paper currency to the same amount should be substituted, the \$70,000,000 in gold and silver, being no longer wanted for that purpose, exported and the returns converted into productive capital would add an equal amount to the wealth of the country." In his "Proposal for an Economic and Secure Currency," he says: "A well-regulated paper currency is so great an improvement in commerce that I should greatly regret if prejudice should induce us to return to a system of less utility. The introduction of the precious metals for the purposes of money may with truth be considered as one of the most important steps toward the improvement of commerce and the arts of civilized life; but it is no less true that with the advancement of knowledge and science we discover that it would be another improvement to banish them again from the employment to which, during a less-enlightened period, they had been so advantageously applied."

Mr. J. R. McCulloch, in commenting on the principles of money laid down by Ricardo, says: "He examined the circumstances which determine the value of money, and he showed that its value will depend on the extent to which it may be issued compared with the demand. This is a principle of great importance; for it shows that intrinsic worth is not necessary to a currency, and that, provided the supply of paper notes declared to be legal tender be sufficiently limited, their value may be maintained on a par with the value of gold, or raised to any higher level. If, therefore, it were practicable to devise a plan for preserving the value of paper on a level with that of gold without making it convertible into coin at the pleasure of the holder, the heavy expense of a metallic currency would be saved. It appears, therefore, that if there were perfect security that the power of issuing paper money would not be abused; that is, if there were perfect security for its being issued in such quantities as to preserve its value relatively to the mass of circulating commodities nearly equal, the precious metals might be dispensed with, not only as a circulating medium, but also as a standard to which to refer the value of paper."

"In adopting a paper circulation," says Lord Overstone, "we must unavoidably depend for a maintenance of its due value upon the adoption of a strict and judicious rule for the regulation of its amount." Lord Overstone further declared that "the value of the paper currency results from its being kept at the same amount the metallic currency would have been."

Alexander Baring, in his evidence before the secret committee of the House of Lords in 1819, said: "The reduction of paper money would produce all those effects which arise from the reduction in the amount of money in any country."

Prof. F. A. Walker says: "Let me repeat, money is to be known by its doing a certain work. Money is not gold, though gold may be money, and sometimes it is not. Money is not one thing, no group of many things having any material property in common. On the contrary, anything may be money; and anything in a given time and place is money which then and there performs a certain function. Always and everywhere that which does the money work is the money thing."

Sir Archibald Allison says: "The suspension of specie payment in 1797, making bank notes a legal tender receivable for taxes, by providing Great Britain with an adequate internal currency, averted the catastrophe then so general upon the continent, and gave it at the same time an extraordinary degree of prosperity. Such was the commencement of the paper system in Great Britain, which ultimately produced such astonishing effects and brought the struggle (of the Napoleonic wars) to a triumphant close."

The United States Supreme Court has decided that Congress may provide for a national issue of paper money, based on the credit of the Government, making it a legal tender, or that greenbacks may be issued as needed in peace as well as war. The sovereign power to make money should never be delegated to corporations. Why not wipe out our national banks, and prohibit state banks of issue. We want no wildcat money. President Thomas Jefferson, one of the greatest of American statesmen, said, in a letter to Colonel Epps, his son-in-law: "Bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulating medium must be restored to the nation to whom it belongs. Let banks continue if they please, but let them discount for cash or loan treasury notes."

President Madison, in his message, January 20, 1813, said: "It may be necessary to ascertain the terms upon which the notes of the Government (no longer required as an instrument of credit) shall be issued upon motives of general policy as a common medium." And again, December 3, 1816, he said: "But for the interests of the community at large, as well as for the purposes of the treasury, it is essential that the nation should possess a currency of equal value, credit and use wherever it may circulate. The Constitution has intrusted Congress exclusively with the power of creating and regulating a currency of that description."

President Jackson said, in 1835, in his message vetoing the United States bank bill: "But if they (Congress) have the power to regulate the currency, it was conferred to be exercised by themselves, and *not to be transferred to a corporation*. If the bank be established for that purpose, with a charter unalterable, without its consent, Congress has parted with their power for a term of years, during which *the Constitution is a dead letter*. It is neither necessary nor proper to transfer its legislative powers to such a bank, and therefore unconstitutional."

Hon. John C. Calhoun said in the United States Senate, in 1837: "It is, then, my impression, that in the present condition of the world a paper currency in some form is almost indispensable in financial and commercial operations of civilized and extensive communities. In many respects it has a vast superiority over metallic currency, especially in great and extensive transactions, on account of its greater cheapness, lightness, and the facility of determining its amount. No one can doubt that the Government credit is better than any bank, more reliable, more safe. Why, then, should it mix up with the less perfect credit of those institutions? And why should the community be compelled to give six per cent. discount for the Government credit, blended with that of the bank, when the superior credit of the Government could be furnished separately, without discount, to the mutual advantage of the Government and the community? It has another and striking advantage over bank circulation in its superiority and cheapness, as well as greater stability."

Bank paper is cheap to those who make it, but dear, very dear, to those who use it; fully as much as gold and silver. It is the little cost of its manufacture, and the dear rates at which it is furnished to the community, which gives the great profit to those who have a monopoly of the article. On the other hand, the credit of the Government, while it would greatly facilitate its financial operations, would cost nothing, or next to nothing, both to it and the people, and of course would add nothing to the cost of production; which would give to every branch of industry, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, as far as circulation might extend, great advantages, both at home and abroad.

"I now undertake to affirm positively, without the least fear that I can be answered, what heretofore I have but suggested, that a paper issued by the Government, with the simple promise to receive it in all dues, would form a perfect paper circulation which could not be abused by the Government, that would be as steady and uniform in value as the metals themselves. I will be able to prove that it is within the constitutional power of Congress to use such a paper in the management of its finances, according to the most rigid construction of the Constitution." Thomas H. Benton was right when he got up in the United States Senate, pending the discussion on the United States bank, and declared "the Government ought not to delegate this power if it could. It was too great a power to be trusted to any banking company whatever, or to any authority but the highest and most responsible which was known to our form of government. The Government itself ceases to be independent when the national currency is at the will of a company. The Government can undertake no great enterprise, either of war or peace, without the consent and co-operation of that company, its friendship or its enmity, its concurrence or opposition; to see how far that company will permit money to be scarce or to be plentiful, how far it will suit the interest or policy of that company to create a tempest or suffer a calm in the money ocean. The people are not safe when such a company has such power. The temptation is too great, the opportunity too easy, to put up and to put down prices; to make and break fortunes; to bring the whole community upon its knees to the Neptunes who preside over the flux and reflux of paper. All property is at their mercy. The price of real estate, of every growing crop, of every staple article in the market, is at their command. Stocks are their playthings—their gambling theater, on which they gamble daily, with as little secrecy and as little modesty and far more mischief to fortunes than common gamblers carry on their operations."

Dr. Franklin said: "Gold and silver are not intrinsically of equal value with iron, a metal in itself capable of many more benefits to mankind." President Grant said, in his annual message to Congress, in 1873: "The experience of the present panic has proven that the currency of the country, based as it is on the credit of the country, is the best that has ever been devised." It has a base that could not go to Europe; that would stand by us in adversity as well as in prosperity, war as well as peace.

A nation with sixty-four millions of people and sixty-two billions of property, with power to coin money, should never borrow money or issue bonds. We now have seven hundred and fifty-one millions idle in the treasury—a sum four times as large as the whole national bank circulation—and every business interest of the country is suffering. Money or capital should not be allowed to fund itself into Government bonds, or lie idle and accumulate in interest. Our national debt should be paid, not funded. If capitalists who now hold our bonds had the money, and that money could not accumulate until it went to work, we would find it everywhere hunting something to do; labor would be in demand, and the price of labor come up. You have not forgotten that our greatest pros-

perity as a people was in 1866 and 1867, when we had no idle men or women. Labor was amply rewarded, yet not a dollar in gold and silver was in circulation in this country, or a dollar based on gold or silver. The whole circulation of over two thousand millions of dollars was based upon the credit of this great nation of ours. The people not only prospered, but civilization took a step higher and in advance. It must not be forgotten that hard times came with what was falsely called resumption; when we got down to a solid basis, *i. e.*, hard money and but little of it, resulting in hard times and the country full of it.

You know all political science teaches that when the volume of money is small and prices are coming down, the demand for labor gets scarce; that there is no market for what we raise; that men are unable to pay their debts, and individual bankruptcy and ruin follow, and the property of the country rapidly changes hands at forced sales; labor is idle, and crime increases.

In a government like ours, the military should be kept in strict subordination to civil power. We must not forget that in our Constitution it is provided that all powers not delegated to Congress are reserved to the states, or the people of the states respectively; that Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that all such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their affairs not limited by the Constitution. Yet we want a government that is strong enough to protect every citizen; one that will see justice meted out to the rich and poor alike; one that will make the same effort to secure a fair trial for the naturalized Irishman in Ireland as the aristocratic murderer in London; one, if necessary, that can reach its long arm into Kilmainham jail and secure the release or a fair trial of the lowest of our citizens, whether by birth or adoption; one that will secure respect to the American citizen the world over; one that will be respected in Italy or in Lisbon. We want a government of the people, by the people, for the people. I don't believe in any toadyism to the aristocracy of this country, or of the old world. We want an aristocracy of labor rather than one of capital.

This Government should also own and operate the telegraph, telephone and railroad lines. The transmission of freight, passengers and intelligence should not be at the mercy of corporations. The Government thought so when it provided the post-office department, the only source of news and information at that time. Congress has become an association of stock jobbers. A man goes there as a Republican or a Democrat; the party lines are drawn, and he is whipped into the traces and loses individuality. Men are called demagogues because they hear and heed the murmurings of the laboring masses.

We must substitute Government legal-tender paper for national bank issues. We must overthrow corruption at the polls and in representative bodies. We must secure the greatest good for the many rather than the few. We must protect and build up labor rather than capital. We must grant no special privileges to corporations that we do not grant to the whole people. We must secure a free ballot and a fair count; no bulldozing the laboring man's vote, South or North. We must control by law and bring into subjection to the interest of the people all corporations and monopolies that have by combination and extortion established absolute dominion over money, over transportation, over invention, over land and labor, and over prices. The trusts must be wiped out. All railroad grants not earned by the roads should be restored to the public domain, and made subject to homestead entry. When a man accepts a public office, and the people pay him a salary, his time and his energies belong to his constituents and not to himself, and he should seek the highest possible public good. We must adhere more closely to the teachings of the fathers. The place to right all political wrongs in a republi-

can government is at the ballot-box. There is no excuse for labor riots or bloodshed or rebellion in a republican government. We would not have these if we taught, and as we must teach, our boys and girls more respect for the ballot and the lessons it teaches. We must study all economic and political questions from a non-partisan standpoint. This is the science of government.

We must study this mortgage debt hanging over our country. It is sweeping away the entire property of the people. It is a worse calamity than the Johnstown flood or the overflow of the Mississippi. The Government was liberal in its donations to the Johnstown sufferers and to the people along the Mississippi. The Government loaned the Union Pacific railroad sixty millions to aid in building that road. The Government for thirty years has been loaning the national banks hundreds of millions at one-half of one per cent interest. This was all constitutional. Whenever there is a will there will be found a way to help the mortgage-ridden people. Suppose we increase the volume of money to ten per cent. on the value of property of the country as shown by the last census. Will any one say that money based on ten times its volume in property would not be safe? This would be \$6,200,000,000. With this issue of money, every idle man and woman would then find employment at good wages. The prices of agricultural productions would also increase, enabling the people to pay their debts. Then abolish debts and interest, or the power to contract them. Devise some plan by which the Government can loan money directly to the people, at a nominal rate of interest, to pay this great mortgage debt. For instance, the mortgage debt of Kansas, including chattel mortgages, is over \$200,000,000; this at seven per cent. requires \$14,000,000 a year that goes out of our state to pay interest. In thirty years this will be \$420,000,000. Suppose the Government should assume this mortgage debt as it becomes due; issue for this purpose legal-tender treasury notes, loan them to the people at one per cent.; the Government would then receive in interest at one per cent. \$2,000,000 a year, or \$60,000,000 in thirty years. The people of Kansas would save \$12,000,000 a year, or \$360,000,000 in thirty years. This would be not only saved to the state, but each family could add that much annually to their comfort and happiness. I believe with \$500,000,000 increased volume of money this could be done. If the Government should assume the whole \$12,000,000,000 of mortgage debt of the whole country as it becomes due, it would probably require an issue of \$3,000,000,000 of money, as it would be used over and over again. This would only increase the volume of money to \$4,500,000,000, a little over seven per cent. on our wealth. If the average interest on this great mortgage debt is seven per cent., the people are now paying \$840,000,000 a year in interest; this in thirty years would be \$25,200,000,000, a sum almost equal to one-half the wealth of the country, a sum in excess of the entire taxable property of the country. This is why I say, with our present financial policy, it can never be paid. If the Government should assume this debt at one per cent., it would be \$140,000,000 a year paid the Government; in thirty years, \$4,200,000,000. The people would save \$720,000,000 a year; this in thirty years would be \$22,600,000,000. This money kept at home among the people would stimulate every industry; every idle man and woman would go to work, and civilization would take a step in advance. Of course the people must not be allowed to make new debts or new obligations. In fact, we must then abolish debt, with all laws for the collection of debts contracted in the future. Mortgages on the homes at least should be void. Abolish usury or interest. With this, selfishness would be of the past. Crime, insanity, and vice, induced by poverty, would disappear.

I have thus briefly suggested a remedy. If there is a better one, I am for it. Thanking you for your attention, I bid you good-night.

GOOD-NIGHT!

Good-night, good-night! mysterious voices
 Are calling my soul from an infinite height;
 Though silent, they quiet Earth's discords and noises
 And impel me to bid you good-night, good-night!

Good-night! I feel a new day is dawning;
 'Tis flooding my soul with its wonderful light,
 Beaming fair and serene from Eternity's morning.
 In that morning we'll meet; good-night, good-night!

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S WARNING.

"In my present position I would scarcely be justified were I to omit exercising a warning voice against returning despotism. There is one point to which I call attention. It is an effort to place capital on an even footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of the government. I bid the laboring people beware of surrendering a power which they already possess, and which, when surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement to such as they and to fix new disabilities upon them until all of liberty shall be lost."—*Abraham Lincoln's Message to Congress, 1861.*

"Yes, we may all congratulate ourselves that the cruel war is nearing a close. It has cost a vast amount of treasure and blood. The best blood of the flower of American youth has been freely offered upon our country's altar that the nation might live. It has, indeed, been a trying hour for the Republic, but I see in the near future a crisis arising which unnerves me, and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned, an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless."—*Abraham Lincoln to a friend in Springfield, Illinois.*

